

**JPRS 77155**

**12 January 1981**

# **China Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 155**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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## PARTY AND STATE

### EARLY CRITICISM OF THE QING DYNASTY FEUDAL AUTOCRACY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Zhang Jinfan [1728 2516 5672], Qui Yuanshou [6726 6678 3757] and Yang Kan [2799 1030]: "The Modern Struggle to Criticize the Qing Dynasty Feudal Autocracy"]

[Text] In China the concentration of feudal autocracy is expressed in the absolute power held by the Emperor. The Emperor alone is the center of the administrative, legislative, judicial and military powers and as such holds the highest power in the nation. In the wake of the ultimate development of imperial power, the Royal family and the Emperor's wives' and mother's families also shared in the glory, power and influence. Even servants and officials usurp power by becoming the Emperor's spokesmen. The Han, Tang and Ming dynasties all suffered the usurpation of power by officials. The formation of the system of feudal autocracy together with the absolute power held by the Emperor produced a unified autocratic, centralized state. This had a progressive effect on national developments. However, the misuse and corruption of this system of imperial power by bureaucratic politics had a major reactionary effect on history and became an obstacle to social developments. This was clearly shown by conditions in the Qing dynasty. The goal of the Qing dynasty rulers was to scrupulously maintain their ancestral system and clan laws and repress all reforms. Up till the time of the bourgeois revolution in the west the Qing government still strangled all capitalistic developments in order to maintain the economic foundation of the autocracy--the natural feudal economy, and fell ever further behind the advanced nations. The functioning of the entire machinery of state revolved around the Emperor and the people's political initiative and progressive thoughts were smothered. "Speak but little and bow a lot" became the most common attitude and guide in bureaucratic circles. This provides a clue to the stagnation, backwardness and corruption of the Qing dynasty.

Even though the reigns Kang Xi, Yong Zheng and Qian Long were able to maintain a certain degree of national power, nonetheless, after the mid-Qing dynasty, the corrupt autocracy was in a steady decline and the Chinese people bordered on disaster. After the defeat in the Opium War the progressive people in China were awakened, and opposition to the feudal autocracy gradually became the main trend in modern progressive thought.



(1)

Around the time of the Opium War, the blows of the peasant rebellions against the Qing dynasty, the influences of the initial development of capitalism and the danger of foreign capitalist invasion caused the landlord class to produce a number of progressive thinkers. They saw the evils of rule by the feudal autocracy and made analyses and gave criticism. Gong Zizhen and Wei Yuan are representatives of this new trend of thought.

Gong Zizhen more or less understood the close relationship of the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy and the corruption of bureaucratic rule with "10,000 mute horses" in intellectual circles. He blamed the Emperor's attempt to maintain his absolute authority for the use of such high-handed tactics that "there was universal hatred for officials and everyone's honesty and sense of shame were ruined." This was accomplished by issuing such decrees and laws that the longer a person was an official the less the sense of shame; the greater the ambition the more they carried favor; the closer one's position to the Emperor the more subtle one's tricks. Officials in high positions used all their energies to judge the Emperor's likes and dislikes in order to further their own interests. They knew of nothing beyond this. To preserve their official positions they became "models of experience" in collecting their salaries without working and passing their days in a life of ease. The fate of the nation and the suffering of the people became "dark dogs under the white clouds, totally unrelated." (GUSHI GOUCHEN LUNYI MINGLIANG LUN ER, SAN, SI [THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY, ON GOODNESS 2, 3, 4]) Gong Zizhen's description of the flagrant mistreatment by the Qing dynasty rulers and the shameless corruption of the officials opened peoples' eyes to the fact that the autocracy was the source of the social problems and government corruption.

Gong Zizhen was very concerned and openly wondered if this were to continue "what would become of the nation?" This then generated the demands for a change from the system of autocratic rule. Because of the limitations of his time period and location he was unable to suggest any new system of social order, but could only "prescribe the same old cures" (YIHE ZASHI [MISCELLANEOUS POEMS]) and restore the three dukes' "discussion of the Way." His suggestions on the expansion of the authority of the high officials and for more imperial respect for the high officials had no effect on the monarchy.

In some respects Wei Yuan's discussions and criticisms of the monarchy surpassed those of Gong Zizhen. He also opposed the selfishness of the Emperor's treatment of the nation, "his power, interests and fame robbed us of our happiness and brought worry to all the people." He saw the choice between the imperial selfishness or concern for the nation as the factor which determined good government or chaos.

Wei Yuan compared the state to the human body. The Emperor is the head, the officials the hands and feet, and the people the breath. If a person wished to continue living he must breathe every minute. So the life and death of a nation is totally dependent on "taking care of the breath." Therefore, the "enlightened ruler" must "breathe with the people" and make sure that the peasants' "opinions were made known to those above." He was opposed to "partial opinions" and favored "broad opinions." The Emperor must have broad access to the people's views in order to be fully informed and wise. He should be "dictorial" in gathering correct views and not "dictatorial" in gathering individual opinions. The demand for

removal of barriers between the monarch and officials and superiors and inferiors became a basic point in the later bourgeois demands for "promoting the people's rights" and "establishment of a parliament." Wei Yuan went further in saying that the Emperor is not divine, "the Emperor is made through mass agreement," which means to be produced by the masses. The Emperor is but "one of the masses" and no more. (MOGUXIA-ZHIPIAN 2, 3, 12 [WRITINGS ON AN OLD TABLET, ON GOVERNMENT, 2, 4, 12]) He did not at all believe that the Emperor was an inviolable god. On the contrary, if a country fell into chaos "the fault lay with the Emperor and the people should blame him." (SHU JINSHIWAN GU YUANYI ZHUAN HOU [WRITTEN UPON COMPLETION OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF GU YUANYI FOR THE JIN DYNASTY HISTORY]) This was a new view for those times.

After the Opium War Wei Yuan came in contact with Western forms of government and expressed his admiration. He said, "America uses tribes to represent the ruler. This solution can be universally applied without harm." Switzerland is the "paradise of the West." (HAIGUO TUZHI, HOUXU [A DESCRIPTION OF MARITIME NATIONS, POST-SCRIPT]). Although this explanation is shallow and mis-informed it nonetheless was the beginning of contact with Western political and social systems for the intellectuals and explains why they saw Western democratic forms of government as superior to the Chinese feudal autocracy. The formal suggestion that they "regard the barbarians as masters," i.e., learned from them, smashed the restrictions of the feudal aristocracy which had closed off the country. This opened the path for others to contact bourgeois thinking and start the struggle against the feudal autocracy. Wei Yuan's bold attack on "royal authority" showed a certain degree of awareness of the people's strength and wisdom, demonstrated his vague perceptions of the progress of Western democratic government and revealed the special features of early democratic thought in China. This worked to "cut through the thickets in forging a path" in setting the mood for and promoting developments in democratic thoughts.

(2)

Following the formation of anti-revolutionary forces both in China and abroad around the 1870s the government of Qing dynasty feudal autocracy daily became an evermore useful tool in oppression of the Chinese people by the foreign invaders and it declined ever deeper into corruption and reactionary mentality. After the birth of the bourgeoisie there was progress in development of thought in opposition to the Qing dynasty autocracy. This thought expressed the early bourgeois reformist ideological trend of criticism of the aristocracy as found in Western bourgeois political theory. The major representatives of this trend were Zheng Guanying, Wang Tao, Chen Chi, He Qi and Hu Liheng. After the war between China and France they gradually began to feel that the feudal autocratic government was a hinderance to the development of bourgeois modern enterprises, so they continued their criticism against this rule and advocated a constitutional monarchy. He Qi and Hu Liheng described China under feudal dictatorship as "government for selfish ends not for the public good, and unfair laws favoring some over others. The people are like children but the ruler treats them no better than slaves. The officials are like tigers yet the ruler indulges them like hawks and dogs." (CENG LUN SHU HOU [2582 6158 2579 1775]) They believed that to change China from a poor weak nation to a wealthy strong nation there must be a change from the system of feudal autocracy and the establishment of a bourgeois parliamentary system and that "prolonged peaceful government must be based on this." (XINZHENG LUNYI [A DISCUSSION OF NEW GOVERNMENT])

After the Sino-Japanese War the nation was in a national crisis of unprecedented gravity. The fate of a nation was at stake and the restoration movement reached a high tide. Under these conditions the bourgeois reform faction made an even more fierce attack on the monarchy. Yan Fu followed the Western "doctrine of social contract" in believing that the birth of the monarch was separate from divine will and that he served the people in the function of a "public servant." When the state was being maltreated because of weakness the sovereign ought to "protect the people" by exerting all his energies to improve the people's abilities, morals and strength and thus make the nation "stronger and more wealthy day by day." The inability to perform this would result in loss of position as the people have the power of recall. From this we see that Yan Fu's concept of the "sovereign" was no longer the Emperor of the system of the feudal autocracy. He believed that after the Qin dynasty all emperors were "nation-stealing bandits" who made many laws to "protect what they have stolen" and "prevent mass opposition." These laws "destroyed the people's talents, scattered their strength and weakened their morals. The result was a weakened nation which could not resist an invasion. To demonstrate Chinese weakness and Western strength he made a comparison. "The Westerners describe their rulers as follows: The state is the public property of the people and the nobles, generals and ministers are public servants of the state. However, in China the ruler is described as follows: The Son of Heaven owns the four seas and has innumerable subjects. . . . This being the case, the people of Western nations have more respect and honor than our nobles, generals and ministers, while the Chinese people are mean and humble, no better than the offspring of slaves. If there is war the citizens fight for public property and public interest, while in China it is slaves fighting their masters' interests. What hope of victory is there if slaves must fight against people so ennobled?" (BIHAN [6582 7281]) Although these comments give excessive praise to bourgeois social and political systems they do reveal the oppression and enslavement of the people by autocratic rule and from the viewpoint of the weakening of the state are quite correct.

Tan Sitong made an even stronger criticism of the feudal autocratic dictatorship. He issued a call to "cast off the neck of the monarchy" and showed a stronger more combative democratic spirit. Tan accused the Emperor of believing the entire nation to be his "personal property," of "wasting the nation's life's blood and vitality" and of being vain and licentious. He accused the Emperor of oppressing the people in "unimaginably harmful ways and of invoking the crime of "despoiling joyous occasions" to oppose reforms, all of which resulted in numerous tasks remaining undone. He thoroughly cursed the Emperor as an "enemy of the people" and cursed the dictatorship as "benighted, obstructive and unethical." He advocated "slaying the Emperor" and abolishing the monarchy, thus demonstrating his especially negative attitude toward the royal system.

He also suggested a "doctrine of social contract" similar to that proposed by the enlightened Western bourgeoisie and used it to refute the heart of the system of feudal autocracy-royal power. He pointed out that the relationship between the ruler and the people was: "First there was the people and then there was the ruler, so the ruler came last and the people are basic." He believed that, "those that rule should perform for the people, the officials aid in the performance of the people's affairs." If the ruler is not suited to his position, the "removal of the ruler" is a matter of course. (REN XUE [PERFECT VIRTUE]) This refuted the concept of divine ruler found in the theory of "rule by divine right" and argued that the people have the right to remove the ruler. Although his presentation was not very



scientific, nonetheless it was seen as a powerful attack against the divine right of rulers. Tan Sitong openly demanded that bourgeois freedom and equality replaced feudal obligation and advocated using the "people's rights" and "democracy" to transform the feudal autocracy. He once also united criticism of the monarchy with anti-Manchu feelings. In the view of Tan Sitong the entire Qing dynasty was thoroughly corrupt, "like a dark prison without a single law or policy worthy of being recorded. It is thoroughly vexing." (ZHI WANG KANGNIAN SHUER [A LETTER TO WANG KANGNIAN])

On the basis of criticism of the system of feudal autocracy Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao suggested the establishment of a parliamentary system. Kang Youwei believed that "all strong nations have a constitution and a parliament. In the parliament the ruler and the people discuss laws of the land." Therefore, China "ought to establish a constitution and a parliament and let the people share in the many affairs of state, thus forming a three-way system of authority." This was seen as beneficial in transforming the system of feudal monarchy into a capitalist system of constitutional monarchy. (QING DING LIXIAN KAIGUOHUI XI [AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUTION AND A PARLIAMENT]) Liang Qichao believed that in China the feudal dictatorship had "taken over each person's right of self-determination and invested this in a single individual, so one person had taken away the rights of a multitude." (LUN ZHONGGUO JIROU YOUYU FANGBI [CHINA'S WEAKNESS ARISES FROM INDULGENCE AND ABUSES]) The result was that for a long period China had "accumulated weaknesses." YU YAN YOULING XIANSHENG SHU [A LETTER TO MR YAN YOULING]) He herein emphasized that the problem of "people's rights" is central to the success or failure of the nation. He clearly pointed out that the "source of wealth and power" of Western capitalist nations lies in the capitalist political system. He heaped lavish praise on parliamentary government and advocated establishing a constitutional monarchy in place of the feudal autocracy.

From the above we can see that in the latter part of the nineteenth century there was much more opposition to the feudal autocracy than during the Opium War. Moreover, there were other differences. At the same time there was a development from minority criticism into an ideological trend of definite scope. This opposition had greater influence in society and made an even greater attack on the corrupt autocracy. This then simulated a wild hatred of reactionary forces. The feudal autocratic clique under the leadership of the Nala clan carried out a bloody repression of the Constitutional Reform and Modernization Movement by the bourgeois reformist faction. This event demonstrated the stubbornness of the feudal autocracy and demonstrated that victory in the struggle against it was no easy matter.

### (3)

The lesson taught by the successive failures of the Reform Movement of 1898 and the Boxer Rebellion two years later made some patriots realize that in order to develop capitalism and save the nation it was necessary to overthrow the "foreign ruling house" of the Qing dynasty autocratic dictatorship. Thereupon, the bourgeois revolutionary faction as represented by Sun Zhongshan advocated the violent overthrow of Qing ruling house. There quickly arose a democratic revolutionary trend of thought advocating the establishment of a bourgeois democratic republic, and this became the mainstream of progressive thought in twentieth century China. From this moment China entered a new stage of thought in opposition to feudal autocracy.

The book GEMING JUN [THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY] by Zou Rong [6760 1369] which was written in a sharp, incisive style became a call to arms in the attack against the autocratic system. He said that the autocratic form of government made successive rulers believe that the whole nation was "the private property of a single ruling family" and that "none of the people have any equality or freedom." Therefore, it was necessary to use revolution to "slay the autocrats who rule us and thus restore the human rights accorded by Heaven," to "sweep away several thousand years of autocratic rule and escape from several thousand years of slave-life mentality in order to purify the Chinese homeland and turn the descendants of the Yellow Emperor into the fathers of a new nation." He also made a rational explanation of the need to overthrow the Qing dynasty autocratic dictatorship and enthusiastically praised revolution as a "general rule of evolution," "a universal truth," and "the innate wisdom of the people." He moreover offered the outline for a Chinese nation based somewhat on the French declaration of human rights.

Chen Tianhua verified the need for the elimination of the autocracy in order to forge a democratic republic. He said, "all those who have recently made comments on the comparative forms of government say that democracy is the best. The cry of nationalism is heard daily. The call is for the removal of the evil form of the old government and the implementation of the very best and most beneficial form of government, a republic." He believed that "for one person to be a god above reproach and for one family to hold power over a whole nation" was not compatible with the trends of the time. (LUN ZHONGGUO YI GAI CHUANG MINZHU ZHENGTI [ON THE BENEFITS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN CHINA]).

The great pioneer revolutionary Sun Zhongshan was influenced by theories based on Western bourgeois politics. He summed up recent historical experience in opposition to aggression and in opposition to the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy, outlined modern ideological trends opposing feudal autocracy and offered his theory of the three peoples principles. The main organizational parts were opposition to feudal autocracy, the establishment of a bourgeois republic and the implementation of a bourgeois democratic system of civil rights.

Sun Zhongshan was profoundly aware that if the Qing court and the autocratic system were not quickly overthrown it would be difficult for the impoverished and weakened nation to avoid disaster from outside powers. He felt a passionate and lofty sense of responsibility to the nation and the people. He took an even stronger democratic revolutionary stance in criticizing and exposing the evils of the Qing dynasty autocratic rule. As he pointed out, "The present government of China can be summed up in a few sentences: In all matters whether they pertain to the royal court, the people's affairs or even local matters, the common people have no rights of expression or information. The officials have the power to render judgments, and when the people are abused there is no one to turn to. . . . The people's ears and eyes are blocked and their intelligence is obstructed. Even more frightening is that political documents are not available and the newspapers are severely restricted.... As for the invention of new implements and the creation of new ideas, the people are afraid of the death penalty and dare not act. There is not a single Chinese person who is not covered in darkness." (LUNDUN BEINAN JI [A PRISONER IN LONDON]) These words used clear democratic concepts to expose the oppression of autocratic politics, point out the lack of people's rights under autocratic dictatorship, explain why autocratic dictatorship is an obstacle to social progress, scientific culture and the development of production technology, and point out that it is a factor in making



China remain a poor, backwards nation. He concludes from this the liberation of China from "a thousand years of poisonous autocracy," and "the implementation of people's rights" "cannot be delayed." (MINBAO FAKANGCI, SANMINZHUYI YU ZHONGGUO QIANTU [INTRODUCTION TO THE 'MINBOA,' THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES AND CHINA'S FUTURE])

In the TONGMENGHUI XUANYAN [DECLARATION OF THE TONGMENG SOCIETY] Sun Zhongshan clearly called for the "expulsion of the Manchus, restoration of Chinese rule, the establishment of a nationalist state and the equality of rights." He made a further description of his plans for establishing the nation, "after the popular revolution establishes a nationalist government all citizen<sup>s</sup> will be equal and can participate in the government. There will be the general election of a president. A parliament will be formed of publicly elected representatives, and it will formulate a national constitution to be obeyed by everyone. Anyone who dares declare himself Emperor will come under open attack by all!" This has three levels of significance: the first is the armed struggle for power; the second is the establishment of a bourgeois parliamentary republic; the third is the prevention of any restoration of a feudal monarchy. Sun Zhongshan is worthy of being called a democratic, revolutionary warrior. He demanded the complete overthrow of the dictatorship of the Qing dynasty feudal monarchy, implemented the highest form of democratic republic found within the bourgeois revolution, and moreover carried out a struggle against the bourgeois royalist faction that wished to implement the perverse theory of a constitutional monarchy. "Anyone who dares declare himself Emperor will come under open attack by all!" This vigorous battlecry manifested his brave opposition to the feudal autocracy and his extreme faith in the principles of a democratic republic, and at the same time demonstrated the bravery and determination of the revolutionaries to fight for and protect democratic rights.

The above material clearly shows that the ideology of the bourgeois revolutionary faction had surpassed and made great improvements over the early levels of opposition to the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy. The modern democratic thought in opposition to feudal autocracy promoted a high tide in the older democratic revolution and won broad sympathy and support. Under the leadership and struggles of the bourgeois revolutionary faction the entire population of China arose in opposition to the Qing dynasty, finally carrying out the revolution of 1911, which with one stroke overthrew the feudal autocracy of the last two thousand years and established the republic. However, the weak bourgeois revolutionary faction bowed to the might of imperialism and feudalism and China soon became republic only in name. Under the northern warlords government was actually a dictatorship by the landlord-comprador class. There was only the outline of a nationalist state, the people's will and rights were all destroyed.

The modern struggle to criticize the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy expressed the important aspects of a struggle between progressive and reactionary forces and between revolutionary and anti-revolutionary elements, and expressed the struggle between advanced capitalist modes of production and corrupt feudal modes of production. It reflected historical trends in social developments, heightened the people's awareness of democracy and mobilized the organization of mass opposition to the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy. However, because the Chinese economy was undeveloped, the national bourgeoisie was very weak and the world had already entered the imperialist era the effectiveness of the Chinese struggle against feudal autocracy was not great. The national bourgeoisie lacked the power to change or eliminate the economic foundation of feudal autocracy--the national feudal economy, its social foundation--

the feudal clan system and its spiritual supports--feudal relationships and morality. Therefore, the traditions of the Chinese feudal autocracy were like "historical inertia" which hung over the whole society. Although they were later swept away by the new democracy and the socialist revolution their poisons are strong even today so we must still carry out an unrelenting struggle against them.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE DISCUSSES STATUS OF LAW IN CHINA

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 1, Feb 80 pp 7-12

[Article by Dong Likun [5516 4539 1024] of the Legal Research Institute of the Shanghai College of Social Science: "No One Can Stand Above the Law: A Discussion of the Relationships Between the Law and Individuals, the Party, the Government and Policies"]

[Text] Our socialist laws reflect the will of all the people. They are vigorously enforced standards of behavior which all people must respect. All individuals, organs of state and social groups must obey the law, no one can stand above the law. Therefore, at the Fifth National People's Congress Comrade Ye Jianying strongly pointed out, "China's socialist laws must have the greatest possible authority." Since the founding of the nation we have enacted a great many laws. If these laws have the highest authority and if everyone from the highest state and party leaders to each citizen was able to consciously obey the law and work according to the law then the plot of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power could not have succeeded and the nation would not have suffered ten years of chaos. The overturned cart is a warning to the carts behind. We must honestly sum up our historical experiences, discover the reasons why Chinese laws lack authority, make an honest analysis and suggest solutions in order to establish supreme authority for socialist laws and truly implement socialist legal rule.

#### The Relationship Between Law and Individual Will

An extremely important problem in imparting high authority to our laws is to clarify the relationships between the leaders, individuals and the law. For a long time the function and authority of the individual have had inappropriate influence while the law has been secondary to the individual. During the Cultural Revolution Lin Biao made perverse slogans giving ultimate authority to the individual. He turned our leadership's words into "the highest directives" and "the highest law" while not even glancing at the constitution or the law. Even after smashing the "gang of four" the leadership's words still remain in absolute authority in the minds of some people, and the two "fanshi" [0416 2508] theories are the most recent forms of expression of the absolute authority of such leadership. Those who

adhere to this viewpoint of the two "fanshi" theories are not afraid to go against party decisions, violate state laws or harm the party and the state. They only fear violating the words and phrases of such leadership and forcefully work according to these two "fanshi" theories. One can hardly imagine that operating according to such a viewpoint would maintain the authority of our state laws!

Is the individual subject to the laws or are the laws subject to the individual? Marx has expounded on this in a profound, enlightened manner. He said, "Law ought to be an expression of the interests and needs generated by the whole society and by a particular concrete mode of production, rather than the irresponsible acts of a single individual." (MAKESI-ENGESI QUANJI [THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 6, p 292) Marx very clearly explains two problems: (1) Law is the product of the development of a particular state of the mode of social production, which is the division of social classes, and is a tool by which the ruling class rules and oppresses the class which is ruled. (2) The law is a tool which manages the state and adjusts the internal relationships within the ruling class. The ruling class and all its representatives must equally obey the law. The first problem can be understood by everyone. The second problem has long been ignored by people. In actuality, it is only when the law is thoroughly functioning in making adjustments to the internal relationships within the ruling class that this class is able to maintain its status as such. As everyone knows, in a class society the so-called class rule cannot be carried out by member of the ruling class, but is accomplished through a ruling group composed of representatives of the ruling class. Then, how does the ruling class select its representative and how does it organize this ruling group? How does the ruling group focus its class will, implement its class mission and protect its class benefits? All these problems were solved through the use of laws. "Law expresses the winning of the authority of state government." (LIENING QUANJI [THE COMPLETE WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 13, p 304) "If the will is that of the state then it ought to be expressed as the laws enacted by the state organs. Otherwise the word 'will' is nothing more than an empty word." (LIENING QUANJI, Vol 25, 75) The law unquestionably not only reflects the will of the ruling group, it also reflects the will of the general membership of the ruling class. The general membership of the ruling class uses laws to oversee the activities of the ruling group in power and moreover enacts laws to share in the benefits obtained through class rule. The ruling group in power uses law to exercise rule over the whole society and also uses law to handle criminal elements within its own class, protect class unity and to more effectively repress resistance from the ruled class in order to maintain the status of rulers. Therefore, the reckless behavior and lawbreaking of any individual is contrary to the overall interests of the ruling class and must be subjected to the unified opposition of the entire ruling class. Individual submission to the law is a special form of submission by the individual to the overall group (class). Past and present both in China and abroad there are countless examples of ruling class leaders who broke the law and were deprived of power.



According to Chinese historical records Prince Taijia of Yin "flaunted the laws of Tang and was immoral" so the minister Yi Yin placed him under palace arrest. (SHI JI, YIN BENJI [THE HISTORICAL RECORDS, THE BASIC ANNALS OF YIN]) Yi Yin was known as the most virtuous minister of antiquity. Prince Chang Yi of the Han dynasty was enthroned as emperor but his behavior "destroyed the rites between emperor and prince and brought chaos to the Han legal system." he was finally deposed by Huo Guang who could be still regarded as a loyal Han dynasty official. (HAN SHU, HUO GUANG ZHUAN [THE BOOK OF HAN, THE BIOGRAPHY OF HUO GUANG]) For an official to depose an emperor is a truly unforgivable act, but the deeds of Yi Yin and Huo Guang protected the overall interests of the ruling class they were praised by feudal historians. Since ancient times there has been the saying "the ancestral temple honors the lord." (HAN SHU, HUO GUANG ZHUAN) It can be seen that no matter whether it is a class which rules over slaves or is a feudal ruling class the interests of the entire class always come before the interests of the individual. The bourgeoisie are naturally just the same. Everyone knows that in recent years the president and officials of capitalist nations have been forced out of office because of criminal behavior.

China is a socialist nation under a proletarian government, the law reflects the will of all the people, leadership cadres of all levels are public servants who carry out the will of the people, the public servants must carry out the will of their masters and serve their masters. How could the masters be expected to obey the servants or permit any reckless behavior by the servants? The Paris Commune, the world's first proletarian government, long ago set an example for us. All worker personnel of the Paris Commune were chosen directly by the people and the people used the law to oversee their work. Moreover, the worker personnel could be recalled at any time for transgressions against the people's will in the performance of their duties. All worker personnel of the state must give absolute obedience to the law and obey the people's will. This is an important lesson which the Paris Commune has given to us.

Will not emphasis on individual obedience to the law negate the effectiveness of the leadership in managing the state? It will not. The reason why the great leaders of history were great and why proletarian leaders became leaders is because they were very skilled in focusing the hopes and needs of their class and they became its representatives. If these great leaders dwell on a lofty plane above the class members and do not reflect or represent the interests of or work for the hopes of the class members then who would qualify them as a representative and who would ever say they were great? All of our state and party workers must carry out a system of democratic centralism, the cadres must carry out a work style of "coming from the masses and going among the masses," must concentrate on mass needs and wishes, must go through normal organizational and legislative procedures, and must centralize the common needs and desires of the masses in the party and the state policies and laws. Without proletarian leaders and without all levels



of leading cadres in the party and state these important tasks will not be properly accomplished. However, any departure from the vital livelihood practices of the proletariat and the broad masses would leave all policies and laws like rivers without sources, trees without roots. The means of concentrating on mass hopes and needs and transforming the vital livelihood practices into party and state laws requires the complete utilization of the skills of the proletarian leadership. On the second day after the October Revolution the newly born Soviet government adopted Lenin's proposal to enact the famous "Peace Act" and "Land Act." These two acts reflected the existing hopes of the Russian masses and greatly stimulated the progress of the socialist October Revolution. The acts were proposed by Lenin, they were promulgated by the Soviet government, they reflected the hopes of the Russian proletariat and masses, and this entire process reflects the function of the proletarian dictatorship in formulating new laws.

In the question of the relationship between the individual and the law in the proletariat, each person must obey the law and the words of the individual are no substitute for the law, just as in the case of the words of the leadership. The proletariat strongly advocates that "all people are equal before the law." Any person who breaks the law is subject to legal punishment. An important French thinker of the Age of Enlightenment J. J. Rousseau said, "No matter what the form of government in a country, any person within the scope of its jurisdiction who is not required to obey the laws will inevitably come to control the rest of the people." (LUN RENLEI BUPINGDENGDE QIYUAN HE JICHU [DISCOURS SUR L'ORIGINE DE L'INEGALITE DES HOMMES] p 52) This is a profound statement. Feudal society places the feudal ruler above the law, implementation of "authority rests solely with the emperor," and "there is no reverence for the law as such." Therefore, feudal society has no democracy and no rule by law, all it has is the despotism of the feudal ruler. We are the revolutionary proletariat and want not only to liberate ourselves but also liberate all mankind. How could the proletariat ever permit any control by the will of other people?

Nonetheless, we cannot but notice that we have had several thousand years of feudal society and feudal thought has deep roots. At the same time, for a long time since founding the nation we have virtually ignored the law and with the added destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" we now are plagued with the remaining poisons of applying the laws to suit a person. Therefore, we cannot but operate according to the law and truly make everyone equal before the law. This concerns not only the authority of our socialist laws but also concerns the prestige of the party and the state as well as the future of rule by socialist law. We must strictly enforce the laws. All people who break the law must be legally and equally punished no matter how great their past glories or how high their status.

## The Relationship Between the Law and the Party and Government Organs

There are now quite a few people who use the name of the party or an organization to place themselves above the law, resist implementation of the law and even transgress against it. For example, the SENLINPA [FORESTRY LAWS] were enacted but some rural brigades, communes and even some county committees openly broke the Forestry Laws by cutting and harming large areas of the national forests (See the RENMIN RIBAO for 6 August 1979). The State Council enacted the SHUICHAN ZIYUAN BAOHU TIAOLIE [WATER PRODUCTS AND RESOURCES PROTECTION ACT], but in the Dongting Lake region some factories, communes and farms still knowingly harmed state water products resources (See the RENMIN RIBAO for 25 July 1979). On November 17th of last year the RENMIN RIBAO reported that in Jilin province certain brigades, communes and commune-run enterprises together with state and collective units acted entirely for their own interests under their leadership to organize the large-scale theft of enormous amounts of imported oil-field implements from the state. This created a serious incident which resulted in an oil-field shutdown. The stolen implements were valued at several hundred thousand yuan. Some places and units even enacted land policies and land laws contrary to state laws. Without doubt, if the above-mentioned deeds were the acts of ordinary individuals they would quickly have been placed in custody, but because they were done by state or enterprise units even loud protest by the masses would be of no avail. Such conditions have seriously endangered the implementation of our state laws and have harmed the authority of our socialist laws.

Our party regulations clearly stipulate that the most important task of party organizations in all levels of state organs and in all enterprise units is to guarantee the thorough implementation of party policy and state laws and regulations. They are the tools for the complete implementation of party policy and state policies and laws. How then could some party organizations place themselves above the law? This took place under certain conditions. First, for a long time, especially during the cultural revolution, we placed unsuitable emphasis on centralized party leadership and had the party leadership monopolize matters. Some people mistakenly believe that since the party provides leadership in all matters we should obey the party committee in all matters and the law is no exception. It was natural that the "party committee should be superior to the law." Second, in practice some individual party committees actually placed themselves above the law. They said that "independent judgements" and "obeying only the law" was anti-party, that it "used law to oppose the party" and made repeated criticisms. Examination and approval by the party also became systemized and for a long time there was the idea that the party committees were above the law. Third, in cases where individuals made false records in the name of their organizations there was no way to correct the matter and all cases were determined by the party committee according to what the secretary of the party committee said. Even if this was contrary to state law the people could do nothing about it. Therefore, we had to carry out re-education regarding the relationship between the party committee and the law.

As everyone knows our constitution was drafted by responsible persons of the party central and by persons from all the various organizations and was discussed in committee. It also was passed by the state's highest organ of authority--the National People's Congress, embodies the will of the entire party and all the people and represents the shared interests of all the people. If state laws are subject to the decisions of any level of the party then in truth the group interests of the entire party and all the people are subject to the interests of an individual or a small group. This is an absurd theory and a dangerous practice.

The party's judicial work is not dominated by the party committee. The party's most important task is to guarantee the complete implementation of the state laws, to guarantee the independent performance of the judicial organs and see that they are not subject to takeover by or interference from other government organs, groups or individuals. The state is like a human body and is composed of various components. The various parts have mutual restrictions and provide mutual support, but no one part can substitute for another. The brain can direct the work of a person's hands and feet but cannot perform that work in place of those organs. The judicial work of the party leadership has the same principle. Those who believe that only the party committee can judge cases and that they are party leaders only if the party interferes in judicial work just don't understand this principle. Actually, the independent performance of duty by the judicial organs is not independent of the party leadership. Each level of the judicial organs must make work reports to comparable levels of the National People's Congress and the responsible standing committees, and at the same time, each level of the judicial organs also has a party organization. Isn't this party leadership? For a long time we ignored the specific function of the judicial organs and were unable to guarantee the thorough implementation of the state laws. This fundamentally weakened the party leadership.

We now have a real need for energetic construction of the judicial organs. We must especially do research on how the judicial organs are to carry out legal supervision of all levels of state organs and enterprise units. As for the problems of how to exercise investigative authority and judgemental authority over their illegal acts, in our search for solution it is worthwhile to examine the means used in other countries. (Miersen) a professor of law at the British Academy recently told us in an information exchange that before World War II British law prohibited citizens from suing state organs and only permitted suits against individual government workers. Therefore, the government had the potential for great incursions in the rights of citizens and they suffered considerable loss of rights because of this. After the war British law not only permitted legal action against the government, the parliament also established a new special agency to receive accusations at all levels of government and to be responsible for investigating these accusations. England also established an administrative court to resolve disputes between citizens and the government. The Yugoslav expert Professor (Pupofuji) emphasized



a particular point during an information exchange. In Yugoslavia when any unit of a state organ, district or enterprise breaks the law it is treated just like any natural person in the pursuit and determination of legal responsibility. He gave the example of a municipal committee making a wrong decision, one which broke the law. This committee could be prosecuted in order to determine their legal responsibility. The Yugoslav Constitutional Court has charges of criminal cases involving units of government agencies, districts and enterprises.

After the Socialist October Revolution Lenin advocated the establishment of a Worker-Peasant Procuratorate in order to oversee the work of the agencies of the newly formed Soviet government. Lenin said, "The Worker-Peasant Procuratorate is established for our government agencies and its activities should without exception touch all government agencies--local, central, commercial, administrative, educational, theatrical and so on--in short, no agencies are to be excepted. (LIENING LUN GUOJIA YU FA [LENIN'S DISCUSSION OF THE STATE AND THE LAW] Vol 3, p 310) The Worker-Peasant Procuratorate was of great use in ensuring that all levels of state government thoroughly carried out Soviet laws, regulations and policies and protected the new Soviet system of government.

The early experiences of England, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union teach us that full implementation and application of the nation's laws requires not only that all offenders be punished but that all state agencies, collectives and enterprises that break state laws are to be prosecuted to the extent of their responsibility, and that moreover there should be a special agency to perform this work. According to article forty-three of the constitution, "The Supreme People's Procuratorate shall conduct investigations of all workers and citizens in State Council departments, local agencies and state agencies who do not obey the constitution and the law." From this we see that all state organizations are subject to investigation and prosecution just the same as any individual person. In the past we enacted many laws but made no provision for implementation by any particular agency so that after a law was broken there were no places where the masses could go to lodge a complaint. It was the relatively common condition of "having laws but no enforcement." Lenin has told us, "If there is no agency to force the people to obey the laws and regulations then they have no authority at all." (LIENING QUANJI, Vol 25, p 458) We now must clarify the relationships and individual professional responsibilities of the law and judicial agencies with party committees on all levels and the state agencies, greatly strengthen and build up the investigative agencies, ensure the independent investigative authority and judicial decisions of these agencies, truly operate according to the constitution and the law, ensure that the judicial agencies supervise the implementation of the laws by all units of the state agencies, collectives and groups and enterprises and prosecute any violations of our state laws. We also ought to have a special agency to accept and handle any exposure of and complaints against the illegal acts of any units of state agencies and enterprises made by the masses. In short, we must take thorough-going effective action to ensure that our laws are fully implemented by all departments, districts and units.

## The Relationship Between Law and Policy

The substitution and negation of law by party policy has prevented China from fully and truly implementing its national laws, and for a long time the ideology of legal nihilism has been a major factor preventing their implementation. Hasn't someone called us to account by asking, "You advocate the authority of law, but where does that leave the party and party policies"? Therefore, if we don't clarify the relationships between policy and law our socialist laws are but empty words.

Theory and practice tell us that if party policy replaces the law the alliance between the proletariat and the other classes will be damaged and the proletarian revolutionary activities will be seriously endangered. Everyone knows that the party is a class organization and that the communist party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Its guiding principle, line and policies are formulated by the party's All-China National Congress and the central committee which collectively reflects the hopes and needs of the proletariat. The laws express the national consciousness and are formulated by the nation's highest power structures. The nation's highest power structures not only have proletarian delegates but also have representatives from all classes with which the proletariat has alliances. It also has representatives from the socialist workers and from patriots who protect socialism and national unity. Together with the proletarian representatives they participate in discussing and determining our national laws. To replace laws with party policies is to deprive all the non-communist party political factions, the various classes and levels of their legislative rights. This results in harm to the efforts of the proletariat and socialism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out their extreme "leftist" policies, trampled on the law, destroyed the political alliance, stopped the normal activities of the National People's Congress, and carried out the "centralized leadership" of their gang and the results brought a great disaster to our party and the nation. Could we ever forget this painful historical lesson?

Another reason why party policy cannot simply replace laws is because policy and laws have different modes of expression and different means of implementation. Party policy is the party's guiding principle and the concrete manifestation of the party line. It has a guiding function for our practice and generally is relatively involved with principles. The law is a standard of behavior which everyone must obey. The definition must have clear content and make sharp distinctions. The law must clearly define what can be done and what can not be done. Implementation of party policies depends primarily on persuasion and education, while the laws depend on enforcement by the state. When a law has been broken the punishment must be administered and there is no room for discussion of the matter.

Party policy cannot replace the law, however legislative action can change a policy into a national law. As Engels pointed out, "All needs of citizens and society--no matter which class is in control-- are



still subject to the will of the nation so that the laws can be expressed in a form that can be effectively acted upon." (MAKESI-ENGESI WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 2, p 393) Comrade Peng Zhen [1756 4176] said, "Law is the expression of the codification of the party central's direction and policy and is the embodiment of the relatively mature and proven party practices in the form of laws." (See the RENMIN RIBAO for 29 July 1979) Obviously in China to offend the law means to offend party policy and to obey the law means to obey the party leadership. Without doubt all party organizations, groups and individuals must without exception carry out party policy just as they carry out the law. All decisions, directives and documents must be carried out to benefit the law and cannot be in conflict with the law.

The law is a special form of party policy and in the great majority of cases the law and party policy are unified. However it is hard to avoid contradictions between law and policy. The means of resolving such contradictions is not only related to trust in the law but is related to the existence of the socialist legal system. Most of the time in the past, we over-emphasized the idea that laws must serve the needs of the conditions of class struggle and when there is a contradiction between law and policy the law must stand aside even to the point where party policy replaces or negates the law. For a long time the broad masses lacked faith in our law and when cadres felt that laws were too binding they ignored or negated them. The fact that after 30 years of national construction we still do not have a complete legal system is definitely related to this way of doing things. "In a nation without an unwavering set of laws the people have no basis on which to act." Because we lack a stable set of laws the "gang of four" had an opportunity to seize power, the party and nation fell into a long period of chaos and there was fundamental harm to the proletariat and the masses. Practice proves that emphasis on the subservience of law to policy is extremely harmful. We must absorb the lessons of our past experiences and when there are contradictions between the two the law must take the lead. We must solve our problems according to the spirit of the law and protect the stability and authority of the law.

Of course a law once enacted is not beyond change. If a law has fallen behind conditions in construction or in the revolution the spirit of the policies can be followed to use the state legislative organs to eliminate, modify or replace the law. Lenin said, "If the old laws won't do, the already changed conditions then require that they be transformed, so they ought to be changed." (LIENING QUANJI, Vol 28, p 204) What we emphasize is that the elimination, change and enactment of laws must be undertaken according to a strict legal process by the appropriate legislative organs. No person's words or any group's decisions or any conditions must be allowed to arbitrarily replace the laws with policy. Recently the standing committee of the National People's Congress passed a resolution extending the life of all laws and regulations except those which conflict with each other. The National People's Congress and its standing committee are our only legislative bodies and without their consent no laws can be changed or eliminated.

We have discussed the relationships between the law and the leadership, the party committee, the state agencies and policy. For a long time these relationships were overturned in China, and because they were overturned our laws lacked authority. We must now correctly handle these relationships. In terms of theory we must clarify the problems, in terms of practice we must resolutely follow the laws in our operations. We must reach the state where there are laws to obey and with mandatory observance of them, and where infractions of the laws are investigated and where severe punishments are carried out without exception. Our socialist laws will then possess the greatest possible authority and only this can guarantee peaceful unity of the political situation and promote the smooth progress of the "four transformations."

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### REGIMENT PICKS NEW LEADERS BY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 80 p 1

[Article by Ji Xuan [3444 1357]: "Integration of Recommendation by the Masses and Examination by the Leadership Is a Good Method"]

[Text] Recently, a certain regiment of the Jinan Units, under the guidance of the higher-level organizational work team, used the method of integrating recommendation by the masses with examination by the leadership in selecting successors in forming the regiment's leading group.

This regiment has been engaged in this work since the last third of July. They--the regiment--first of all concentrated on the cadres of the entire organization and the cadres at the company level and above, carried out ideological mobilization and the study of relevant documents so that the masses knew the policies well. On this foundation, they used the method of having the masses write down secretly their opinions, writing their recommendations for whom should be selected, what kind of post he should hold, and the reasons for the recommendation on a printed form. Afterward, the work team gathered and studied the forms, made an overall appraisal, examined the candidates, determined the objectives of the selection process, put forward a plan for the composition of the leading group, and finally reported it to the higher-level party committee for its approval. By adopting this method, the political ideology, military techniques, professional level, organizational ability, and confidence of the masses, as well as age, physique, and cultural level, of the members making up the leading group were all fairly good.

Practice proves that the integration of recommendation by the masses with examination by the leadership in selecting successors has the following advantages: First, it speeds up the process of rejuvenating the leading group. Before readjustment of the eight persons in the regimental leading group, seven were overage. The average age of the group formed by the democratic recommendation is now 37.5 years, 6.1 years less than that of the former group. Second, it is of benefit in discovering talented persons and leaders who know their subordinates well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities. For example, Tian Hongchi [3944 3163 3069], former deputy political instructor of the 3d Battalion, received the most recommendations from the masses for the post of director of the political department. A thorough examination of him by the work team proved that the views of the masses were correct and thus unified

the leadership's views. Tian Hongchi was promoted to be director, skipping intermediate ranks. Third, democratic recommendation provides a good education for cadres. The people of this advanced group are all topnotch people in the regiment. Regimental commander Wang Futian [3769 1381 3944] is solid and experienced in his job, well versed in the artillery soldier's profession and highly trusted by the masses. Political commissar Li Guangping [2621 0342 2494] has been a company political instructor and a battalion political instructor for many years, and has comparatively rich experience in basic-level work. Chief of Staff Li Zhijun [2621 1807 6511] has a fairly high level of military techniques and staff work, and is bold, resolute and vigorous. Now, the leading members of this regiment are enthusiastically grasping their work and vigorously "fighting" at their respective work posts.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### FULL-TIME MILITIA CADRES AGING, YOUTH NEEDED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 80 p 3

[Article in "Notes on Militia Work" column by Wang Wanchang [3769 2429 2490] and Pan Yusong [3382 3768 2646]: "Ranks of Full-Time People's Armed Forces Cadres Must Be Rejuvenated"]

[Text] Recently, in continuing to gain an understanding of militia work, we feel profoundly that to effect the rejuvenation of the ranks of full-time people's armed forces cadres is an important question in building up the militia. At present, it is fairly common for full-time people's armed forces cadres to be too advanced in years. According to our understanding, many of them at the county level are 40 or more years old, and there are commune people's armed forces department heads who are over 50. If this situation is not changed, it is bound to affect the development of militia military training and the building up of the militia.

Therefore, we should vigorously engage in the work of selecting young cadres, striving hard to create a full-time armed cadre contingent that is young, possesses a definite military and political quality, and is full of vigor and vitality. According to the traditional method of selecting full-time armed cadres, first, they can be selected from among specialized, demobilized army-men and, second, they can also be selected from among outstanding militia cadres and others who are suitable for this type of work. At present every year a group of specialized demobilized army-men come to the localities, and there are also many outstanding militia cadres who have both ability and political integrity. For one county, there are many persons who are suitable for and ready to do militia work. It will not be difficult to select several tens of young cadres if we carry our work into the family household.

From the long-term point of view, we ought to set up a necessary system for maintaining the youthfulness of full-time armed cadres. Departments concerned can, according to actual conditions, make rules that separately require youthfulness for secretaries in charge of people's armed forces and for people's armed forces department heads, thereby systematically insuring the youthfulness of people's armed forces cadres. To set up a fixed system that puts an age limit on cadres engaged in people's armed forces work will also be of benefit in making satisfactory arrangements for full-time people's armed forces cadres.



The rejuvenation of the ranks of full-time people's armed forces cadres is not only a matter for the people's armed forces department but is a matter for party committees at every level. The party committees should, together with the people's armed forces departments, get a good grip on this work and vigorously coordinate with the departments in selecting, examining, and approving young full-time people's armed forces cadres, and conscientiously solve problems that arise in this process. For cadres that are not suitable for continuing people's armed forces work, they must, according to the individual situation, make appropriate arrangements.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### MATERIAL BASE SAID NECESSARY FOR GOOD MILITIA WORK

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhaozhe [3769 0340 0772]: "Getting a Grip on Foodgrain and Money Promotes Militia Work"]

[Text] In the past several years in Zhaoyuan County production has greatly developed but there are still many production brigades in which production depends on loans and the commune members do not have money to spend. The militia work in these production brigades, in which life passes in this kind of "poverty," all along has been unable to break out of this backward circle. Only 60 percent of the militia companies throughout the county completed their stipulated training missions, and a third of the militia companies have no company headquarters or weapons rooms.

The county people's armed forces department, grasping the practice of militia work, felt: If a production brigade's production does not rise, it is impossible for it to get a good grip on militia work. To get a grip on militia work it is necessary to overcome the purely military viewpoint, and, setting out from getting a grip on foodgrain and money, integrate this with getting a good grip on militia work. After the Third Plenary Session of the Party [11th] Central Committee, the county people's armed forces department changed its past method of doing militia work and helped the production brigades to give priority to getting a good grip on production. They--the armed forces department--held meetings of full-time armed cadres and militia cadres, educating all of them to concentrate on leading the militiamen to be enthusiastic about getting a grip on foodgrain and money for the collective. When engaging in capital construction of farmland, the county and communes dispatched competent personnel or deployed cadres of the commune people's armed forces departments to lead the militiamen to press the attack. Understanding the situation of militiamen when working in the countryside during peacetime, the personnel and cadres concentrated on helping the production brigades to resolve their difficulties in production. When staying at the grassroots level, they also made grasping production the central task. Department head Hou Baozhang [0186 1405 7140] and political commissar Qu Baoshan [2575 1405 0810] took the initiative of suggesting to the commune party committees that they needed to extract foodgrain and money from barrel hills, and went to every militia company and mobilized the militiamen to organize hill-transformation teams, ore-prospecting teams, and stone-extracting teams, thinking of all sorts of ways to make the commune members prosper.

In this way, owing to the fact that the armed forces departments and the masses of people were thinking along the same lines, within the space of 2 years, the appearance of many communes and production brigades underwent a big change.

The development of production opened up a new situation for militia work. There appeared in militia work throughout the county three "breakthroughs": First, the training missions were completed better than before. Formerly, the cadres in the poor communes and poor production brigades, owing to the fact that production did not rise, were very worried and, basically, could not concentrate on militia work. With the present prospect, the cadres' minds are at ease and militia work registers well with them. This year, when the season to finish hoeing had just arrived, the party committee of every commune studied the arrangements for time for militia training. By the first third of September, over 1,500 armed militiamen had completed 15 days of training. Second, many communes and production brigades have strengthened the basic construction of militia companies. Since last year, throughout the county more than 300 rooms have been built for the militia company, the majority of militia companies have headquarters, and over 90 militia companies in the production brigades throughout the county have clubs and reading rooms. Some production brigades also bought military necessities for the militiamen such as canteens and Sam Browne belts. Third, the militiamen are more enthusiastic about taking part in training. Many militiamen have said with intimate knowledge: "In the past we went to the drill ground concerned about the fact that we had no money to buy cooking oil, salt, soy sauce, and vinegar, so how could we think of crawling, climbing, rolling, and fighting? Now we have food, drink, and spending money, so that when we train we are brimming with energy." In this year's training, 90 percent of the armed militiamen have done exceedingly well. At the same time, there have emerged 200 experts in shooting, tactics, and training. The change in militia work has made the comrades in people's armed forces departments throughout the county incomparably happy and, when summing up their experiences, they say: The goodness or badness of militia work is closely related to material conditions. When poverty blocks the way, it is hard to develop militia work; by getting a grip on foodgrain and money, the militiamen have a solid material foundation and are thus able to get a grip on the rifle and the bullet.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF RECRUITS FROM TOWNSHIPS

Beijing REDMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 80 p 3

[Article: "Having Taken an Oath To Advance Education and Enlightenment Enthusiastically, One of the Military Units at Guangzhou Is Successfully Carrying Out Ideological Work Among the Fighters Who Enlist From the Townships"]

[Text] One regiment among the PLA units at Guangzhou, because of the peculiarities of the young fighters being recruited from the townships, has developed its ideological work, enthusiastically helping the recruits to establish a correct purpose in life.

In order to have complete and accurate knowledge about the new fighters, the regimental party committee especially sent people to conduct investigations in the new fighters' hometowns and mobilized all of the more than 200 cadres and fighters in the regiment to make friends with the new fighters. Everyone saw that nearly all of these youths were the sons of workers or cadres, and that ideologically they were sincere and broadminded, while their cultural level was comparatively high, with a comparatively high receptivity. But they had been born during the economic difficulties of the first 3 years of the 1960's, and during the following 10 years of disorder the concepts of law and morality had been lacking, so they do not understand the meaning of uprightness in life. The regiment's party committee recognized that you should treat this type of young persons with special warmth and enthusiastically educate and enlighten them. Only then will you be able to make them overcome their bad habits.

In the cannon company of the regiment's 2d Battalion, there was a new fighter recruited from Guangzhou who ordinarily was very disorganized and who had also joined a fighting gang. The cannon company's cadres, from beginning to end, did not discriminate against him but rather enthusiastically helped him, first letting him serve as a communicator for the battalion, while they explained to him the importance of strengthening discipline and the reasonableness of individual obedience to the whole group. When they found that he had made progress, he was publicly praised. Afterward they sent him to a gun section as a gun-layer and used examples from the defensive counterattack against Vietnam to explain to him the wartime duties of a gunner, in order to help him establish the attitude of glorious self-sacrifice in defense of the fatherland.

Recently this fighter sent home a picture of himself in his neat and correct uniform that made his mother very happy when she saw it. She sent back to him an old picture of him with long hair and a beard. On the back she wrote two sentences: "I hope you do not change back again into this 'eat, drink, and be merry' lifestyle. I want you to become a good fighter in a short time."

The 7th Company had one new fighter who, being the child of a cadre, had disorganized habits as well as mischievously playing jokes on people. The seven cadre members of the 7th Company all enthusiastically carried out their ideological work, patiently explaining to him the standards for people and telling him about their own unit's martyr, Du Xijiang [2629 6007 3068], who had bravely given his life in order to open the road to victory for his brothers in his company during the defensive counterattack against Vietnam. This made him understand that to be a man is to be one who benefits the people. After his misunderstanding had been raised, he frequently volunteered to do a lot of good within the company. Because the battalion's television set, which was kept in the commons, was not well safeguarded, he sacrificed his rest time to build a wooden case in which it could be secured. When there was a shortage of fertilizer for raising vegetables, he gave up his naps to climb the mountains to collect cow manure, for which everyone praised him for being a good fighter who worked enthusiastically for the general good. His accomplishments in military training became excellent in every course. He was honored as the battalion's best marksman, and three times he received awards.

The new fighters who this year joined the regiment from the townships have all made obvious progress, and among the 52 new fighters from Guangzhou City, 29 have received awards from their regiment, battalion, or company.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### URUMQI REGIMENT PROMOTES UNITY AMONG NATIONALITIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 80 p 4

[Article: "In a Regiment Among the Units at Urumqi, Cadres of Each Nationality on the Party Committee Are Working Together To Raise the Unity Among the Nationalities and Are Struggling To Achieve Exemplary Unity"]

[Text] In a PLA regiment at Urumqi, cadres of each nationality on the party committee, through mutual assistance, joint study, mutual respect, and closeness, have led the whole unit's cadres and fighters to unite very well.

The regiment is stationed in the region of the Kunlun Mountains, on the edge of the Takla Makan Desert. The cadres and fighters of the regiment include elements from eight national minorities, including Han Chinese, Uygurs, Kazakhs, Chinese Muslims, and Khalkas. At the leadership level of the regiment's party committee, along with Han Chinese cadre, are also Chinese Muslim cadres and cadres from such minorities as the Uygurs. From first to last, the regiment's party committee has strengthened unity among the cadres and fighters of the various nationalities, regarding it as an important matter earnestly to improve in this and, moreover, to set a model of exemplary unity. The Han Chinese members of the regiment's party committee especially respect the customs and practices of the minority cadres. In order to cooperate and do well in their work, the Chinese earnestly study the Uygur language with the Uygur cadres. Because letters and materials from higher levels have sometimes not been translated into the minority languages, the Chinese verbally translate these documents for the minority cadres, so that they can promptly understand the spirit of the instructions from higher levels and can freely go to work. In his work, the secretary of the regimental party committee and political commissar, Yao Xincal [1202 5281 2088], a Han Chinese, emphasizes listening to the opinions of the cadres who are from brother peoples and making full use of their positive contributions. Each time a member of the regimental party committee who is a member of a brother nationality comes back from work or leave to visit his family, Yao promptly tells him of the decisions made by the regimental party committee and seeks out his opinions. Moreover, Yao takes seriously the cultivation, promotion, and use of cadres from brother nationalities. He has positively suggested to the party committee the selection of 17 cadres from brother nationalities to serve as leading cadres in their organization or company-size units, or has sent them for advanced study at the Central Institute for Nationalities or the Soldiers Institute.



Throughout, all leading cadres from brother nationalities on the regimental party committee also emphasize preserving the party committee's unity, advancing friendship in their relations with the other committee members, being forgiving in discussions, and cooperating to improve the committee's work. The deputy political commissar, Kadevushou [0595 4104 0710 1343], is a young Uygur cadre who joined the army in 1968. Once, while still in the ranks of the regiment, he was ordered to take responsibility for an urgent construction project. He forcefully shouldered this heavy burden and took the initiative in helping the Han Chinese cadres solve many difficult problems.

Under the influence of the members of the regimental party committee, the cadres and fighters of each nationality throughout the regiment also have united closely. Because the 2d Company, which is composed of Han Chinese fighters, has done well in its military training, organizational personnel from the 3d Company, which is composed of fighters from brother nationalities, went to them to seek instruction. The 2d Company, without holding back in the slightest, introduced their experience to them and, moreover, enthusiastically served as a skeleton force to strengthen training in the 3d Company. The 2d Company lacked production experience for its part-time agricultural activities, so the 3d Company, on its own, sent people to give them guidance, so that this year the 2d Company has reached self-sufficiency in vegetables, planting watermelons and canteloupes which were both big and sweet. In one squad of the 5th Company, the Uygur fighter, Kuerbanjiang [1655 3643 3803 3068], the Muslim fighter Yang Zhijiang [2799 3112 3068], and the Chinese fighter Xu Hanming [5171 3352 2494] formed a military training group to help each other, to study together, and to develop competition, with the result that all of them obtained excellent records, for which they were praised by their superiors. Together they joined the Communist Youth League, and their comrades all said that they "truly resemble three brothers."

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ECONOMIC POLICIES TO CONTROL POPULATION GROWTH URGED

Shanghai SHANGHAI SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [SHANGHAI TEACHERS' UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 2, 25 Apr 80 pp 16-21

[Article by Gui Shixun [2710 0013 8113]: "Population Control and Economic Policies"]

[Text] Following the first scientific symposium on population theories held in November 1978, most provinces and municipalities throughout the country decided on various economic policies to control population growth, and the relevant departments of the central authority are also studying the enactment of a "Law of the PRC Governing Family Planning." Why is it, at this stage of our nation, necessary to formulate economic policies to control population growth? How are we actually to determine which economic policies are best to control growth at this stage of our nation? What are the points that must have our attention when implementing such economic policies? This article gives the result of initial inquiries into the above questions, mainly based on investigations in the Shanghai area.

#### Objective Grounds for Economic Policies To Curb Population Growth

In our opinion the main reason why our country at this stage must adopt concrete measures regarding economic policy to curb population growth is that contradictions still exist between the material interests of the socialist state on the one hand and the individual families among the masses as regards population control, and that it is necessary to use economic methods and adopt measures of rewards and sanctions to adequately deal with these contradictions.

As everybody knows, our country is a socialist state which is at present in the process of development. Under the system of socialism, the family is a unit that produces and nurtures the next generation as it is also a consumption unit. By following the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," all workers in each family must, and only can receive that portion of economic income which is commensurate with the quantity and quality of work that he has contributed to society, subject to certain deductions made by society, to support all the members that belong to that particular family. According to the natural life cycle, every family member passes through three stages, namely from early youth where he has no

labor capacity, to fully developed man with social work capacity, and finally to old age with no further work capacity. In stages one and three, he is obviously nothing but a consumer; only in stage two is he mainly a producer but at the same time a consumer. This causes changes in the consumption level of every family in the socialist state, changes which are of course closely related to the number and work capacity of its workers and which are also dependent on the number of small children the family is raising and the number of old people it is supporting. Under these conditions it is therefore neither feasible nor realistic to have every family in our country completely disregard the economic effects on the family when they decide to raise children.

Presently, the problem is that at the present stage of our country there still exist, to a varying degree, conditions in our cities and particularly in wide areas of the countryside, due to various objective and subjective reasons, that allow economic benefits to be derived from having more children, especially more boys, thus creating a conflict between the state and the individual family as regards material benefits from the measures to control population growth. There are two aspects, in concrete terms, of this economic condition of "many boys, much good fortune:"

One is the low level of production force at the present stage of our country and its comparative backwardness, economically and technologically; this is directly responsible for the condition that "many boys" mean "good fortune." This is most conspicuous in economically backward communes and production teams. There the rate of productivity is very low, there are little collective public welfare funds, the commune members who lose their work capacity (except at communes where the "five guarantees" have been instituted) cannot enjoy social insurance like workers in the cities, and their livelihood must still be provided by their own children. If they have many children, the expenses for caring for old parents can be easily divided and borne by the several children. Another factor is that in this stage of technological backwardness many work processes are simple manual processes so that a family spends little on bringing up a child to working capacity. It was calculated by the relevant department that at present expenses for nurturing one work force by a family in the countryside is only one quarter of what it is in the cities, on the average only a little over 6 yuan per month. Furthermore, many children in the countryside participate in some kind of work at a very early age, thus contributing to the family income. This convinces many women of child-bearing age in the countryside to have many children who will be not much of a burden to raise, but on the other hand will ensure well-being in old age. Another factor is that since our country's agricultural technology is rather backward, much of our agricultural work still depends on physical strength. The birth of boys is therefore economically more beneficial than the birth of girls, because although we have the policy of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, men generally being physically stronger than women will earn more work points (there are of course communes who still do not even truly carry out the principle of equal pay for men and women for equal work, which is even worse in reinforcing the old mentality of valuing boys higher than girls). The same mentality is reflected in the common saying heard in the outer districts and countries of Shanghai:



100 percent for boys,  
80 percent for girls,  
That's the rate that's fixed  
For as long as you're in this world!

Yet another factor contributing in our country to the economic consideration of "many boys, much good fortune" is the result of following certain inappropriate economic policies. This concretely shows when certain areas carry out an egalitarian policy in distributions; they distribute equally by heads, be it food grain, firewood, hay, plots of land for housing and private plots to commune members, or be it living quarters, etc. for city dwellers. In the case of the distribution of basic food grain, for example, many areas in their early stages used to fix quotas by heads, so that the ration for a baby was the same as for a strong work force. In times of comparative shortages, women of child-bearing age would produce more children and use the additional rations either to supplement the rations of the adults or to sell the grain at high prices in the market. As to the allotment of housing the cities, many places allotted housing according to the number of permanent members of the household, those with many children were allotted larger quarters. This was a very conspicuous phenomenon at times when old houses were demolished and occupants moved elsewhere. In Shanghai it was in 1976 that the housing commission started mobilization for the demolition of houses and transfer of occupants. At that time the housing department determined that a family of two parents and two children are to be allotted an apartment of 21 square meters, but two parents with one child could be allotted only one room of 13 square meters. This encouraged many women of child-bearing age to have another child. The birth rate in the area of this housing commission therefore rose in 1978 from 7 pro mille to 11.8 pro mille, and the rate of families that observe family planning went down from the past 93 percent to 84 percent. Furthermore, with regard to our policy governing salaries and wages, our state has at present not yet fully established a strict and rational system of promotions to higher grades and ranks based on examinations and a correspondingly graded system of salaries and wages. This egalitarian trend in the distribution of consumer goods, disregarding higher and lower technological work or the quality of work, can result in high incomes for families with a larger number of work forces even though the quality of their work may not be high at all. On the other hand, families with a small number of work forces but producing high quality of work will not gain high incomes. This will also, indirectly, encourage the "many boys, much good fortune" mentality and be a hindrance to population control.

We see from the above that the system now prevalent in our country will have the effect that the birth of many children will, to a varying degree, increase income, increase food grain allocation and increase housing allotment, even increase "well-being in old age." At this time when the family is still the basic consumption unit, this phenomenon, in an intricate way, becomes interwoven with the feudal views on marriage and births, expressed in such old sayings as "Have many boys, one after the other" and "Of the three sins of lack of

filial piety, the greatest is to have no sons." As a consequence there are a good many people even today who still harbor this idea of "many boys, much good fortune," and a great number of families are incapable of conscientiously and voluntarily practicing family planning and in particular incapable of actively heeding the call of the party and state for each couple to have only one child. If we adopt under these circumstances administrative measures of a forcible command type, such as not registering the more than one child in the census records, not to issue food grain allocations for such children and not to allow their parents to participate in work, the outcome would be contrary to our wishes, have bad aftereffects and in fact not be admissible in a socialist state. In order to have the masses conscientiously and voluntarily practice family planning at the present stage of our country, we must therefore carry out conscientious and effective ideological education in family planning, when we must explain that the state and every single family have fundamentally the same interest in the control of population growth. At the same time we must formulate a correct economic policy and employ effective economic measures to solve the contradictions between the two, the state and the family, in an appropriate way, such measures to ensure material incentives for families to follow the call of the state for population control and to provide sanctions of a material nature against families who disobey the call of the state for population control.

#### Select the Best Economic Policy for Population Control

All over the country we already find a number of various economic policies and measures decreed with the purpose of curbing population growth. To further improve these policies and measures, we must now first of all start out from the realities that we find at the present stage of our country, engage in a penetrating study, sum up the lessons we have learned in the course of actual practice, study and emulate the scientifically proven elements of relevant policies and measures in foreign countries and after a detailed analysis of the many different ways to achieve population control by economic means, select the best method which are most effective economically.

How are we then to select and determine which economic policy will be the best at the present stage of our country? In our opinion we must study and give due consideration to the following main points:

First of all, we must start out by a scientific determination of the focal point in population control at the present stage of our country, to help us find a suitable policy of economic rewards and sanctions. Should we, at the present stage of our development, adopt a policy that would urge each couple to have "best only one, at most two" children, or should our policy be "best no child, at most only one?" This is a question that actually asks what the focal point really is in our population control at this stage of our country. Some comrades suggest adopting the latter policy so that we can achieve a definite reduction in our population at an early date. Consequently they propose that our economic policy should favor couples who have had no children throughout their lives above those who have had one child. However, looking at the present state of childbirths in our country, the most outstanding problem is that cases of a third or even further childbirth in a family account for approximately one-third of all childbirths. If we

can strictly control this share of excessive births, we shall achieve a substantial decrease in the birthrate of our country. It will also in the long run greatly increase the ratio of cases of one child per couple (hereafter called single-child ratio) within the general reduction of births. To take Shanghai as example, in 1978 the excessive births numbered 189 in the municipal area and 1,760 in the suburban and county areas. However, after implementing on a trial basis a policy of rewards for single-birth families as of September 1979, and according to statistics up to the first 10-day period of October, 98,483 families were issued "single birth certificates" (when the child was from a full 4 to 16 years old), which is equivalent to the total annual births in Shanghai during 1974. If the rate of single births can be broadly expanded nationwide, it will undoubtedly have a very great effect on the reduction of the birthrate. Although we must gradually introduce social insurance for childless old people, we still cannot adopt "best no child" as the focal point in our efforts to reduce our birth rate. This is so because, firstly, it would not be compatible with the traditional customs of our people and would arouse much antagonism if unduly enforced; secondly if there are too many childless couples in our society, couples that could have had children, this would cause many social problems. We therefore still regard a policy of "best only one, at most two" children per couple as the best policy at the present stage of our country. Our economic policy for control of population growth must also start out from this basic standpoint and must accurately target various effective measures toward guaranteeing the realization of this policy.

Secondly, when implementing a policy of rewards and sanctions we must pay due attention to the interests involved in the control of population growth, namely the interests of the state, of the rural collectives such as communes, and brigades of the individual families. To effectively control population growth, we must adopt measures of rewards, such as paying child-rearing expenses to single-child families. However, in view of the rather backward state of our country's economy at the present stage and the existence of two forms of public ownership, the expenses for such rewards to rural commune members will still have to be borne by the commune and team to which the couple concerned belongs. A system of rewards for population control therefore not only affects the economic relations between the state and the individual families concerned, but also between the rural collectives such as communes and brigades and the families concerned. Very low awards will not be effective; on the other hand very high rewards will cause hardships to state communes in our present state of limited state income and stringent finances at the communes. We must therefore start out from the economic conditions at the present stage of our country, and that includes giving considerations to present levels of wages, work points and commodity prices, when we determine what amounts would be appropriate as rewards. This is the only way that would benefit the single-child or childless families and at the same time lighten the economic burden on the state and the rural communes. For instance, if we view payment of single-child child-rearing expenses in isolation, it will seem that these expenses are merely additional expenses for the state and the communes to bear, but viewed in overall perspective, the child-rearing expenses, if paid at an appropriate rate, will on the contrary



reduce the economic burden of the state and the communes. This is so because for every less child born, the state and the communes save the expenses of rearing this child to maturity. According to estimates by the competent department, the expenses to the state for rearing a child until it becomes a work force are over 2,000 yuan in the cities, almost 1,000 yuan in townships and over 400 yuan in rural communes. And secondly, if a woman of child-bearing age has one child less, she will not need the official leave of almost 100 days for pregnancy, birth and infant feeding, but can devote this time to produce values for the state and the commune. The Shanghai Textile Mill No 12 has calculated that at the beginning of 1979 each staff and worker creates an average of 29 yuan of net value per day. If a woman bears one more child, she will have 56 days of childbirth leave and official time off of altogether 43 days for pregnancy and infant feeding and thus fail to produce almost 2,871 yuan of net value. Thirdly, by bearing one child less, a family consuming commercially sold food grain will require less rations of grain and oil from the state. In the case of a family not consuming commercially sold food grain, the production team may, after satisfying the state's grain purchases, sell the grain for one extra person to the state at the price applicable to state purchases in excess of designated prices, which would mean an additional contribution to the state as well as an additional income for the commune. Considering all these expenses, the payment of an appropriate reward to the single-child family is extremely beneficial for the state and for the communes.

Shall we then also pay an additional living expense subsidy of 5 percent of their original work earnings to single-child parents at the time of their retirement (excluding staff and workers who retire with a 100-percent retirement pay)? In our opinion, we must not decide this in the same way for all cases. According to the conditions that we have actually investigated it is indeed a necessity that the commune should pay the single-child parents a living expense subsidy of 5 percent of their original work income on their retirement when they lose their work capability. This is because at present agricultural productivity is very low throughout the country and the economic income distributed annually by the commune to each labor force unit is very small. If husband and wife are both from single-child families, and in view of the fact that communes are still not yet able to provide sufficient welfare to old members who have lost their work strength, the couple will find it very difficult to bear the living expenses for seven heads (the couple themselves, their four parents and one child). If we therefore could not determine that single-child parents on losing work capability, can count on a certain monthly expense subsidy, this would dispel their fears of the future, and the commune will also be able to bear this item of expenditure. One section of the statistics of Hengmian Commune, an advanced unit in family planning in Nanhui County, reveals that among the single-child families of that place there are: mothers 35 years or older: only one; 30 to 35 years: eight families, the rest all below 30 years. This shows that this commune will gradually start to issue living expense subsidy to single-child aged parents only after 20 years, i.e., at the end of this and the beginning of the next century. Due to the modernization of agriculture the commune will by that time certainly be in a position to carry out such a scheme. As to single-child parents who will retire as staff and workers, it will not be necessary to pay them the additional 5 percent of their

original wages on their retirement. From many investigations we know that there have been no cases where fear that difficulties in their livelihood, because of not getting the additional retirement allowance, would make staff members or workers unwilling to limit themselves to having only one child. On the contrary, after retirement staff and workers will in general still want to help their children economically and with having only one child on retirement will find themselves better off. Besides, it will add up to quite a sum if the state undertakes this expenditure. According to our present system and level of wages, the average monthly wage of a staff member or worker is about 60 yuan, but would in general be somewhat higher at the time of his retirement. If we figure the preretirement wage at 70 yuan per month, the retirement allowance of single-child parents with the additional 5 percent would be as high as 84 yuan. Estimated at our country's present retirement age for staff members and workers and average life span, the state would have to pay the two staff members or workers for 15 years retirement allowance, and that amount would be 1,260 yuan, which is about double the total expenditure paid for child-bearing expenses to single-child families as generally fixed by provinces and municipalities. If the rate of one-child families among staff members and workers in our country is to be up to 80 percent, the total amount of this item of expenditure will be quite considerable. In the first half of 1979, several provinces and municipalities did not make awards of this kind part of their economic policies for population control, and the implementation of their control policies did not suffer at all. "Some Rules Governing Family Planning," instituted by Shanghai Municipality, did include such rewards, but due to the present financial stringency of state and local finances and the present high rate of single-child families among the older staff members and workers, the detailed regulations for the enforcement of the rules stipulate: Any staff member and worker 16 years of age or older will not receive these rewards on retirement. These regulations raised much dissatisfaction among sections of the masses and caused much trouble in actual work. We, therefore, think the additional 5 percent reward to retiring staff members and workers holding "single-child certificates" should be abolished; out of the money the state had been prepared to spend on this account, a small portion should be allotted to institute social welfare for old people without children or whose children are not with them. In this way the state can save itself quite a bit and become more effective in its control of population growth.

Furthermore, in the case of self-employed workers who do not enjoy the retirement benefits of staff members and workers when they retire in old age, the state should pay a living expense subsidy of approximately 5 percent of the general staff members' and workers' wages as a reward and encouragement. To sum up: when deciding the concrete figures of the reward we must start out from the overall situation, consider past and future circumstances, consider on the one hand the effect of the reward and on the other hand the ability, at present and in the future, of the state and the rural communes to make such payments, and we must aim to achieve the greatest possible results in population control with the least possible expenditure.

Thirdly, starting out from the reality of the situation, we must decisively revise those economic policies that greatly hamper population control and that it would actually cost little to remedy. Viewed from results of investigations

at Shanghai, the outstanding problem at present in controlling population growth in cities and townships is the policy of allotting housing according to the heads of permanent members of a household. Many families comment on this point: "If the policy of allotting housing is not changed and you even promise me several hundred yuan as single-child family reward, I would rather forego the reward and have a second child." We, therefore, believe that regarding the question of house allotment--apart from giving preferential consideration to late-married couples and couples marrying at an advanced age--we should speedily adopt a policy of allotting housing to single-child families as if they were two-child families. Some comrades fear though, that with the present housing shortage, if further consideration is to be given to single-child families, will that not merely increase the number of families without adequate housing and widen the gap between supply and demand? There is of course some ground in this argument if considered in isolation. But we must also realize that if we want to provide a fundamental solution for the problem of insufficient housing in cities and townships, the problem is not only one of building new houses as rapidly as our developing economic base will permit, but also a problem very much related to the question of reducing the birth rate in our country. If we do not adopt a policy in allotting housing that will encourage families to have only one child, many women of child-bearing age will bear another child merely for the purpose of better housing. This will not only increase just the same our present difficulties in allotting housing, but will also increase the demand for housing 20 years from now. It is, of course, not possible at present to satisfy the housing demands of all single-child households. We only hope that all those concerned will show good sense and understanding. If only those comrades in charge of house allocations are clear and definite in their minds and conscientiously carry out a policy of house allocation which treats single-child households as if they were two-child households, and based on the development of our production and speeded-up building of new houses, which will by stages and in groups gradually solve the housing difficulties, including those of the single-child households, this will be a great factor in promoting an increase in single-child families. After the implementation of economic policies to curb population growth, there also should be absolutely no consideration shown to hardships that arise from births in excess of the desired limits per family. In the countryside the system of distributing basic foodstuffs must be changed from an equal distribution by heads to one graded according to the persons concerned; in the adjustment of private plots and allotment of land for house construction single children shall be counted as two children, and to those who hereafter exceed the number of desirable births, no extra rations shall be given. To sum up: the changes in economic policy described above are very beneficial for population control and do not require extra expenditure on the part of the state or the rural commune collectives; why then not go ahead with it?

Fourthly, in economic sanctions against families producing more children than desirable, the punishment must be severe enough and yet not endanger the health of mothers and children. To reduce administrative decrees and stop more than one birth, we must formulate a policy that would restrict and punish by economic means the families with more than one birth. In the past some localities have decreed that they will not reimburse expenses incurred by more than one birth, which include examinations during pregnancy, medical



expenses incurred due to pregnancy effects, prevention of miscarriage, anaemia, midwife or hospital expenses. Leave of absence due to childbirth is to be considered as ordinary leave due to private affairs. The children born after the first child are not to enjoy medical privileges where these included the family, cooperative medical care or labor insurance as directly-related members of the family. Although these are all economic sanctions, it is our feeling that they are detrimental to the health of the mothers and children and run counter to our socialist system and the spirit of our revolutionary ethics, they should best be changed to a system of imposing charges for more children. At the same time it is our opinion that in the future the economic sanctions against families with more than one birth should be more severe, because in the present conditions of low productivity in our country, it is a conspicuous fact that families gain benefits from having an excessive number of children. Only when the sanctions are really severe, will women of child-bearing age, who will not allow themselves to be ideologically convinced and still want to bear more children, seriously start to weigh the advantages and disadvantages and think twice before bearing more children, and only then will we achieve an effective stop to excessive childbirths without the need to impose punishments on the masses. Conversely, if the economic sanctions are too light, some women of child-bearing age will still think it more profitable to have more children and then rather incur the small charges for the larger number of children. Not only would this prevent putting a stop to more than one birth, but it would also bring about punishments over a wide area. We must also realize that these children born in excess of the desirable number will increase expenditure by the state and the collectives such as communes and brigades in bringing them up to become labor force. It is, therefore, absolutely fair and reasonable to have comparatively stricter and heavier sanctions which will greatly lighten the burden of the state and the communes in this respect.

#### Question To Be Noted When Implementing Economic Policies

It was definitely wrong when the role of economic policies was ignored in the past in our family planning activities. However, we must also realize that success in family planning depends on many factors. Currently, when implementing economic policies for population control in order to achieve a speedy reduction in the rate of our population growth, it is furthermore important that we pay attention to the following questions:

Firstly, it is necessary to carry out an effective and penetrating ideological education for systematic control of our nation's population growth. The leadership at all levels must attach great importance to family planning work and handle it as a major issue. We must raise even higher the sense of responsibility and initiative of all engaged in family planning work, to have this work performed more penetratingly, more meticulously and more effectively. We must get the masses to handle correctly the relationship between state, production unit and family as involved in the matter of marriage and child-bearing, to have them consciously and voluntarily carry out family planning. All this requires that we propagate with great effort the great significance of controlling population growth. We must particularly emphasize in our propaganda the relationship between family planning and the



speedy realization of the four modernizations. After we have formulated our economic policy in support of family planning, and if we continue to do effective work in propaganda education on the significance of family planning, creating a new social custom that will regard it as honorable to have only one child, then our economic policy will certainly be turned into an even greater and more effective force. It is furthermore necessary that ideological education enable the masses to correctly approach these economic policies so that they will understand that presently state income is limited and will not allow large sums to be spent in this respect as material rewards. If we pay high rewards, we cannot achieve our aim of gaining through a reduction in population growth a corresponding increase in the country's productive accumulations and of improving the livelihood of the present population. The policy of economic sanctions against families with more than one birth is also not omnipotent; a small number of families, hopelessly imbued with feudal views on marriage and childbirth, will possibly still ignore these regulations and insist on having many children. Our success will, therefore, only come through the coordination of repeated, patient ideological education with work in other directions.

Secondly, we must raise the quality of hygienic techniques used in family planning. After implementing economic policies to reward single-child families and limit excessive births, and in order to achieve population control while at the same time reducing as far as possible induced abortions, we must effectively propagate medical and hygienic information and raise the quality of medical means of birth control. Looking at conditions in Shanghai, the number of induced abortions has been fairly large. If a woman undergoes several abortions, it will not only be detrimental to her health but also certainly detrimental to her work. In 1978 a check of induced abortions in Shanghai has shown that in the majority of cases the persons concerned did not want the pregnancy, but that pregnancy was due to their lack of birth control knowledge, skipping the medicine or having the injection, or the medicine having lost its effectiveness. Now that the rate of single-child families increases and excessive births will be strictly curtailed, many women of child-bearing age will adopt more reliable methods of birth control or even sterilization by surgery which also demands that the quality of operations for family planning purposes must be greatly improved to avoid sequelae as much as possible and have the masses safely and effectively practice family planning.

Thirdly, we must strengthen health care for infants and educational work among our youths. Many women of child-bearing age do not want to limit themselves to one child only because they fear it is "not safe." Especially the women living in the countryside, in mountainous areas or along rivers are afraid some of their children will die of acute diseases, drowning or other causes, and for that reason they want to have several children. To significantly increase the rate of single-child families it is, therefore, necessary not only to reward them by paying child-raising expenses, but also to develop medical and hygienic conditions to have effective infant care and reduce deaths of children due to abnormal causes such as sicknesses, drowning, etc. From experiences in the communes it is evident that the operation of child-care centers, kindergartens, raising the medical

proficiency of barefoot doctors, are all forceful factors encouraging family planning. In his book, "Required Reading for Parents," the Soviet educator Ma-ka-lian-ke [transliteration] already expressed the opinion "that over a million cases could be cited to prove that children from families with many children are achieving great successes, while, conversely, children from single-child families very rarely achieve success." As we see it today, this way of putting it is a very one-sided one, because in many developed capitalist countries with low birth rates, the rate of single-child families is very high, but still they have produced many specialists and scholars of great achievement who are only children. Of course, in actual life in our country we also have cases where the only children are easily spoiled by the parents by making them "the center of attention of the whole family." In the present criminal rate in our country, only children also occupy a rather high position. To launch a penetrating study of the education of only children, to raise the educational quality of our schools, to guide heads of families in correctly educating only children, all these are, therefore, factors of great significance for an increase in the rate of single-child families and for effectively curbing population growth.

Fourthly, we must exert efforts to institute effective social welfare for old people without children or whose children are not with them. As family planning progresses and as the rate of single-child families greatly increases, there will in the future be more and more households with only one child. A number of these children will have to leave their parents in order to work away from them as the needs of the state may require. Many women of child-bearing age are afraid, therefore, that some day their child will be gone, they will be left alone and lonely, they will be old and weak, no longer capable to look after themselves or sick in bed with no relatives to care for them, and it is for this reason that they will not want to limit themselves to one child. To fully demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system and to allay the fears of the future in the minds of heads of families with one child or without children, the rural collectives such as communes and brigades must at this time exert efforts to institute a social welfare system for these old people, establish old-age homes and a system of welfare workers who will care for the livelihood of the old people and serve in hospitals for them. As the economic strength of the state and the communes increases, increasing amounts of funds should be devoted for these purposes, and various forms and methods should be adopted to raise the social welfare efforts on behalf of these old people who have no children or whose children are not with them anymore.

We see from the above that if we really want to control population growth, we must not only study what economic policies to draw up for the control of population growth, but will have to engage in a great amount of related work. Let us in actual practice continuously sum up the lessons gathered in our experiences and gradually make improvements to finally establish a set of Chinese-style policies and methods for the control of population growth, and make further efforts to reduce the growth rate of our population and to speedily realize the four modernizations.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### WELL-KNOWN FIGURES DISCUSS HOW TO STIMULATE LITERARY, ART WORKS

Beijing WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 18, 12 Oct 80  
pp 2-13

[Article: "How To Stimulate Literary and Art Work"]

[Text] Editor: The series of momentous decisions made by the Third Conference of the Fifth National People's Congress and the Third Conference of the Fifth Political Consultative Conference on China's socialist modernization construction will produce a profound impact on all realms of life. In literary and art work, how to summarize the lessons of experience of the past 30 years, adapt to the changes in the new situation and the need of the new social life, firmly implement the party's policies, reinforce and improve the party's leadership, reform the system and enliven literary and artistic work is an issue of concern to the broad masses. For this reason, we have created this special column and we asked, for this issue, some of the delegates in the field of literature and art attending the two meetings for their views. We hope that our comrades in literature and art and the broad readers will show an interest, participate in the discussions and express their opinions, understanding and suggestions. We will continue to publish manuscripts on this subject.

[Article by Ba Jin (1899 1966): "More Encouragement; Less Interference"]

Attending the National People's Congress this time, I feel that, in view of my advanced years, I should retire. Furthermore, a writer should devote his time to writing. ;

Concerning literary and artistic work, it is best to hold a full committee meeting of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles to discuss the matter. I have long felt that the achievements and defects of literary and artistic work in the past 30 years should be conscientiously summarized. The good points

should be popularized and the mistakes should not be repeated. Though I pursue literary and artistic work, actually I do not understand it. Until now I still cannot clarify one issue, viz., the effect of literature and art. At times it is regarded very highly. One film, one play, one novel or one song can lead the young people to the road of crime and the author is held responsible. After publication, when some defects are found in a work, many people will make comments, as if one work will destroy the party and the state. Actually, how could people like us produce such a great impact? Sometimes the effect of literature and art is raised very high, while other times it is regarded as very low. In general, the living and working conditions of those engaged in literary and artistic work are very poor; some of them do not even have a desk. I know of a translator whose house was confiscated during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Now it is impossible for him to have a room where he can spread out his books and do his translation work. When the effect of literature and art is supposed to be so great, such neglect of the literary and artistic workers is truly incomprehensible. Now everyone is discussing serving the four modernizations. We must rely on knowledge and the intellectuals to promote the four modernizations, and they should produce an important effect, yet the policy on the intellectuals has not been completely implemented even today and the intellectuals have not gained trust. Since today we need them and must rely on their enthusiasm, we must furnish them with some proper working conditions. I feel that the meeting this time is excellent. But it is only words, spoken and written. As for how the words are carried out in the future, I feel that the resistance remains great. As there were too many hollow words in the past, people do not easily believe in words. More work must be done to win the confidence of the people. The supreme leaders have the determination to combat bureaucracy, but there will be difficulties in the middle level. One may not necessarily feel optimistic over many things. We must be prepared for the difficulties and the tortuosities. We must do it conscientiously and properly. In regard to whether the four modernizations can be realized by the end of the century, the people's confidence is still inadequate, and much has to be done. I feel that serious attention must be given to literature and art. Their effect is to exert a subtle influence, cultivate a noble spirit and build the ideal of serving the country and the people. We must conscientiously implement the double-hundred policy. Literary and artistic workers must be given serious attention and provided with relatively favorable working conditions. I advocate more encouragement and less interference.

[Article by Ye Shengtao [5509 5110 7118]: "Equal Discussions Advocated"]

I hear that the leaders have the idea of enlivening literary and artistic work. It is excellent, and the literary and artistic workers indeed have such a demand. Why is there such an idea? Why is there such a demand? Naturally it is because literary and artistic work today is not lively enough, but still rather rigid.



It has been 4 years since the "gang of 4" was smashed, but why is it that the spiritual shackles have not been completely removed? In the 4 years, one hears almost everyday the slogan of emancipating the mind, but why is it that the mind has not been thoroughly emancipated?

Often there are people who ask: What ideas have the "higher-ups" expressed? Is it going to be "restraint" again? Some days later, they receive words passed on from the "higher-ups," to the effect that currently it is not a question of "restraint," but the issue of inadequate emancipation of the mind.

Inadequate emancipation of the mind--the words of the "higher-ups" are very clear. Then, if one has the intention to create, one should concentrate on it. Why does one still waste one's energy to inquire about the wind direction?

It is said that one must still make such inquiries. Because in the past, many people had such an experience: The "higher-ups" would start a gentle breeze, but it would gather momentum and turn into a gale of force 7 or 8, or 10 plus, and many people were inexplicably engulfed and suffered punishment.

After one has been bitten by a snake, one trembles at the sight of a rope. Those who have never been bitten by a snake are infected with such fear. The deep and broad influence has formed, and cannot be eliminated in 1 day. Therefore, some people have acquired the habit of inquiring about the wind direction, and one cannot blame them for it.

Naturally it will be undesirable for it to continue. If it continues, literary and artistic work cannot be enlivened. How does one change the situation? In recent years, that the result of the announcements and appeals of the "higher-ups" is not apparent is a fact. To truly change the situation, appropriate concrete reforms are called for.

According to my view, literary and artistic criticism must first be reformed. In past years, the so-called criticisms were mostly launched subsequent to conclusions. The conclusions naturally came from the "higher-ups," and everyone wrote articles accordingly, making groundless accusations, quoting classics, raising the tone ever higher and intimidating with the momentum.

I feel that literary and artistic criticism is the need of the masses and should come from the masses. The masses must mutually encourage one another in practice and make matter-of-fact criticisms together, basing their views, favorable or unfavorable, on facts. The words of both, or several, sides must be heard, so that there will be equality for all and freedom from bias. Conclusions naturally can only be reached after arguments. Isn't it ridiculous to form the conclusion first and hold the arguments later? It is also alright not to reach a conclusion, or not to be in a hurry to reach a conclusion. The "higher-ups" should believe that the masses will gain something in the arguments and will naturally gradually raise their ability to comprehend and appraise literary and artistic works.

Criticisms must be aimed at helping the criticized, instead of pressuring. The right of the criticized to refute must be truly safeguarded, but he should not be required to clarify his stand. In the realm of literature and art, there should be the freedom to accept or reject criticisms and to clarify one's stand or remain silent. Besides, accepting criticisms is not a verbal thing. If they are accepted in mind and in practice, what is the necessity of announcing the acceptance in words?

Those participating in literary and artistic criticism are equal in position. While arrogance is reprehensible, nor is regarding the words and phrases of one individual as "directives" desirable. I feel that only when everyone treats others as equals will the practice of inquiring about wind directions gradually vanish and literary and artistic work become more lively than today.

[Article by Xia Yan [1115 5888]: "Emancipating the Mind; Reforming the System"]

The Third Conference of the Fifth National People's Congress ended successfully yesterday, and so will the Third Conference of the Fifth Political Consultative Conference this afternoon. Precisely as stated in the RENMIN RIBAO editorial, it has been a great meeting of democracy, of reform. The people demand democracy and reality forces us to reform. The party and the government told the people the truth, informing them of the situation in politics, the economy, culture and education, and science and technology, including the amount of deficits, the reason for the deficits and the tentative plans for their elimination. The people's delegates also exercised matter-of-factly the rights of making suggestions and criticisms, and even inquiries. By so doing, naturally we won the support of the people of all nationalities in the country and the approval of the world public opinion. Even certain foreign newspapers and publications which had always opposed China and the communists could only say: "Such reforms still cannot depart from the realm of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought."

To reform the party and political leadership system and to develop the socialist democracy and reinforce the socialist legal system, the party and the government, after careful consideration, took a cautious and resolute step. However, to carry out the resolutions of the congress this time, we are confronted with many difficulties, obstacles and even resistance in various forms --in the political and economic aspects and in the cultural and artistic aspects. One only has to recall the facts last year since the Fourth Literary and Artistic Delegates Congress to arrive at this conclusion. Personally I feel that, in one aspect, the achievements in the field of literature and art have been tremendous, with new works and talents, and some of the works have surpassed the level between the thirties and the sixties. However, in another aspect, we must not overlook the fact that the emancipation of the mind has lagged far behind the rapidly changing objective reality. Just before the opening of the people's congress, some people wanted to find out whether it

would be "restraint" or "release." In the small group discussions, many criticisms of the literary and artistic leadership were heard. Some people said: "The hat factory has closed; the shoe factory has opened." According to what I know, utilizing power and influence to make writers and critics "wear tight shoes" remains a fairly commonplace phenomenon. Naturally, even today the editors of some periodicals are still "feeling for the spirit of the leadership." Isn't this odd? Didn't Comrade Deng Xiaoping's congratulatory speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's [5170 5069 6721] talk at the Fourth Congress of Literary and Art Circles embody "the spirit of the leadership?" In a speech in late July, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "We adhere to the correct direction on our theoretical and literary and artistic fronts, and we do not permit the pursuit of the class struggle as the key link. We are firm on this point!" I find that "spirit" cannot be "felt." Instead of "feeling," we must "learn" and "think!" I hope that our comrades in the field of literature and art attending the congress this time will, upon returning to their posts, conscientiously and concretely study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech at the inauguration of the Political Consultative Conference and Comrade Hua Guofeng's report at the National People's Congress. Besides studying, we must ponder repeatedly in conjunction with the current reality. "Studying without reflection" will not work. We must see further and think deeper. Emancipating the mind is bound to entail some hazards. Marx, Engels and Lenin all braved the hazards, without fear of failure or of being accused of heresy, pondered and practiced repeatedly before creating theories which are accurate when placed anywhere in the world. Furthermore, Marx, Engels and Lenin never regarded their theories as the final truth, forever immutable. "The Condition of England's Worker Class," Engels' famous work written in 1845, is widely read even today. Yet some 47 years later, in his introduction to its republication in 1892, Engels said that, in regard to the conditions described in the book, "at least in terms of England, many of the aspects have become obsolete." Then, in the eighties of the 20th century, can we still transplant intact the theories of the forties of the 19th century? The dialectic materialism and historical materialism of Marxism-Leninism will always serve as the sharpest weapons of the proletariat to prosecute the revolution. However, it was impossible for either Marx or Engels of the mid-19th and early 20th centuries to formulate for us an entire set of blueprint for building socialism. On 7 May, when mourning the death of the Yugoslavian president, RENMIN RIBAO published two articles, one by Comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] and the other by Comrade Sun Yefang [1327 0396 2455]. They both found that Tito's greatest contribution to the proletarian revolution and the socialist construction in his lifetime was his refusal to recognize the possibility of a common mold for building socialism. I feel that only by following this viewpoint in the reforms today, i.e., reforms in the party and political leadership system and changes in the economic system, will we emancipate ourselves from China's unique feudal ideology of several thousand years and from the dogmatism installed by the CPSU and the Third International, and only thus will our literature and art flourish.

Besides emancipating the mind, the issue of reforming the system also confronts us, while the greatest obstacle to the reform of the system is China's unique bureaucratism, which is different from both the bureaucratism of the pre-liberation "Revelation of Officialdom" and that of capitalist countries. It



is a bureaucratism which has a blood relationship with our feudal patriarchy and a link with the overconcentration of power in the political, economic and cultural systems directly transplanted from the Soviet Union. We must realize and understand that such deep-rooted bureaucratism is an archenemy to the introduction of the socialist democracy, to the reform of the economic and cultural systems and to the realization of the four modernizations. In his 40-page report at the National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng devoted full 10 pages against bureaucratism and, at a meeting, Comrade Deng Xiaoping listed 24 charges against it. It indicated the determination of our Party Central Committee to resist bureaucratism in order to introduce democracy, reform the systems and promote the four modernizations. Meanwhile, it has also assigned our literary and artistic workers the task of resisting bureaucratism with the weapons of literature and art. I believe that, as long as we emancipate our mind and reinforce our unity, we will perform the task successfully.

[Article by Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211]: "The Worries of a Fool"]

One of the most important tasks of China's literature and art today and for a long time to come is to vigorously promote our socialist modernization, because without highly modernized material and cultural construction, our country will not be able to survive and our literature and art will have nothing to lean on.

Literature and art should express the great cause of building the four modernizations by the people with one heart and one mind and the victorious advance of the four modernization construction in the difficult and complex struggles. However, this does not mean that literature and art can only depict the four modernization construction, for it will be too narrow an interpretation. The four modernization construction is a matter of prime importance linked with the life-and-death of the nation. Therefore, all aspects of our people's life and struggles, their prayers and hopes, their joys and sorrows are, whether consciously or unconsciously, closely linked with it. For this reason, regardless of the subject matter, whether realistic or historical, domestic or international, as long as a work stimulates and does not depress, inspires confidence and does not demoralize, and provides healthy recreation and does not spread mediocre and vulgar interest, it is directly or indirectly beneficial to the four modernization construction and needed by it.

In recent years, many literary and artistic works have effectively exposed and castigated such evil phenomena as bureaucratism and the prerogatives of cadres. This is entirely necessary, because such phenomena seriously endanger the four modernization construction and severely damage the relationship between the party and the masses. The pernicious feudal influence, which breeds bureaucratism and the prerogative mentality, must be wiped out. However, today there exist also the influence coming from the bourgeoisie and the erroneous tendency of extreme egoism and anarchism. As such unsound trends as



bureaucratism, special privileges and entering by the back door on the part of some leading cadres have not been promptly overcome, some people have lost faith in the future of the four modernizations, or even their revolutionary ideal, and become pessimistic and despondent. There is also a small number of people who feel that, since the leading cadres follow the evil trends of bureaucratism, special privileges and entering by the back door, then, it is reasonable and legitimate for them to disobey the organization, slow down on their jobs, be unscrupulous in reaching their personal goals and violate discipline, and no one may interfere. Such mentality is extremely harmful and calls for criticism and education. Each and every socialist citizen has the obligation to discharge his proper responsibilities to the socialist motherland. We must launch proper struggles against bureaucratism and special privileges, and we must not counter the wrong conduct with the wrong conduct of negative slowdown and violation of discipline, for it will only damage the interest of the state and the people, and it will not overcome bureaucratism and special privileges. In regard to such people, we should rally them, but we must not condone their wrong thinking and conduct. However, it seems that the phenomenon has not attracted sufficient attention from the writers and is seldom reflected in their works. While exposing bureaucratism, special privileges and entering by the back door, some works express understanding and sympathy for such wrong tendencies as extreme egoism, anarchism, loss of ideal, pessimism and despondency, and even beautify them. Obviously, this is also unfavorable to the four modernization construction.

The fundamental task of literature and art is to cultivate socialist new people. Socialist new people are of many types, and they definitely do not come out of the same mold. There are common warriors who quietly immerse themselves in hard work as well as combat heroes who can command the winds and the clouds, and the former constitute the majority. Today, the main criterion to determine whether an individual is a socialist new person is his attitude toward the four modernization construction: Whether he supports or opposes it; whether he is positive or negative. While those opposing the four modernization construction are naturally not socialist new people, nor are those standing indifferently on the sidelines or even making sarcastic remarks. Likewise, the main criterion to determine whether a literary work is good or bad is not the subject matter or how it is written, but its influence on the masses. Does it fill the readers with confidence and hope and make them dedicate themselves concretely and in face of the difficulties to the struggle of the four modernization construction, or does it make them retreat from difficulties, become depressed and indifferent and wallow in their personal melancholy, or "detest the world and its ways," ridicule everything and attempt nothing and accomplish nothing? I feel that both kinds of works exist. It seems that our literary and artistic publications should survey the readers in this aspect and refrain from looking only at the cash register. When we say that literature and art cannot sever themselves from politics, we mean that they cannot depart from the four modernization construction, which is the greatest politics. According to some people, "literature is only literature and has nothing to do with politics." Actually, the tendency of separating literature from politics contains itself a political goal, precisely like the saying that "literature and art are not propaganda" is,

in itself, a propaganda. It is the outworn cliché of bourgeois scholars, and nothing new at all.

That the policy of 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending must be followed in order to bring prosperity to literary and artistic creation is publicly recognized. However, the policy itself is not the goal. Any group and any class can use it to attain their own goal. When we introduce it, it is for the purpose of developing Marxism and bringing prosperity to the socialist culture and art. It is our long-range and fundamental goal. Therefore, 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending constitute our long-range and fundamental policy. Before the "Great Cultural Revolution," we, especially I myself, did not truly understand or properly implement it, thereby causing a great loss to literary and artistic work. Today the condition has somewhat improved, but is still far from adequate, and there are all kinds of obstacles. We must not interpret the policy as something which is against socialism and unfavorable to the four modernization construction and which permits noninterference and freedom from struggle. However, as long as the people's common fundamental interest is not violated, discussions and contentions among different views should be permitted. Truth has its objective criterion; the masses are able to distinguish the right and wrong. Literary and artistic publications should publish different views without discrimination and launch vivid and lively discussions, even if the arguments become heated. Only thus will they arouse the readers' interest, enlighten their thinking and raise their theoretical level. Today there is a tendency, which is mutually accusing one another of hitting with the big stick. Actually, often the accuser himself is hitting with the big stick, and a frightfully heavy big stick at that. For instance, what a frightening political label is the accusation of resisting the spirit of the Third Plenary Session made at the drop of a hat! I feel that there is no harm for a critic to be sharp and biting. As long as he is reasonable, even ridiculing and reviling are permissible, but the evil habit of attaching political labels arbitrarily must never be repeated. If this evil habit is not eliminated, the double-hundred policy will only be an empty phrase. It has been proved by the experiences of the past.

17 September.

## Two Thoughts

[Article by He Luting [6320 4845 3060]; "Two Thoughts"]

A controversial issue comes to my mind, viz., exposure and eulogy. Is it exposure or eulogy? Chairman Mao discussed it at the Yanan Literature and Art Forum. Why must there be only eulogy, not exposure? When we were in Yanan, though we had defects, as the Kuomintang was very powerful, if we followed that way, it would be equivalent to helping the Kuomintang. Today, the situation is different from the Yanan era. Our every word and every act have the attention of the world. At the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference, the criticisms made by the delegates were sharp. Our open criticisms of defects and praises of new measures have not only not damaged our

country's prestige, but won favorable comments. Currently, should we praise or should we criticize the defects and expose the dark side? Is there a dark side in our socialist state? When we look at it now, there is such a side. It is the feudal mentality left down through several thousand years. Though the feudal society was overthrown, the feudal mentality still survives, and it is impossible for it to be wiped out in one day. It exists even in our literary and artistic workers themselves. As a literary and artistic soldier, I feel that today we must fight a battle against feudalism and the bourgeois ideology, mainly the former. Exposure is an important fighting task of our literature and art. If we are sick, but, wearing smart clothes, insist that we are healthy, we will be out of luck when we drop dead from our ailment.

The other point is the question of whether our literary and artistic workers themselves are incompetent in politics or whether their Marxist-Leninist level is low. Why must we have an amateur who does not understand literature and art and whose political level is not high to serve as the party committee secretary and exercise leadership? This situation is not limited to any one area, but is found in every organ. Not just in literature and art, it exists in other units. An individual issues orders in ignorance, because he happens to be the party committee secretary. Today our intellectuals have been receiving the party's education for 30 years. Whether they are party members or not, their Marxist-Leninist level is not necessarily lower than the bureaucratic party members. The purpose of my words is not to knock anyone down and trample on him, but to improve and reinforce the party's leadership and change the undesirable style. As stated by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, we must be honest persons, honest in words and in deeds, for the purpose of benefiting our literary and artistic work and the four modernization construction.

[Article by Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038]: "Literature and Art Must Boost the Morale for the Four Modernization Construction"]

The whole world focused its attention on our National People's Congress. The congress declared solemnly: We have made decisions of a historical meaning at a historical moment. The following passage appeared in the closing address:

"We hope that the people of all nationalities in the country will rally even closer around the party and the government, raise high the revolutionary banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and, to complete the tasks proposed at this meeting, to unify the motherland and consolidate the national defense and to promote the great cause of the four modernization construction, make new contributions."

Thunderous applause broke out at these words. Coming from the fervent heart of each and every delegate, the applauses were the pledge of the courageously advancing people on the path of the four modernizations. As a literary worker,



what are my thoughts? I ponder how literature can make contributions and how to accomplish the tasks assigned by the great era to literature.

Primarily, I think literature should boost the morale for the four modernization construction.

The four modernization construction must rely on a matter-of-fact scientific attitude, without exaggeration or rashness. We have had plenty of historical lessons in this aspect. However, we must, at the same time, realize that the four modernization construction is a great revolution in the building of socialism and that we cannot make new explorations if we take a detached and indifferent attitude. The reason is because it is an arduous yet heroic path and calls for the down-to-earth effort of hundreds of millions, with firm confidence and strong determination. The sacred mission of literature and art is to boost morale spiritually, so that our people will unite and advance with their feet on solid ground, full of confidence, of one heart and one mind, and march toward the expected goal of the year 2000.

Sitting in the auditorium of the National People's Congress, my mind galloped to distant places, to the midst of the pioneers toiling day and night and dedicating their youth and lives to the four modernizations. Today, whoever unable to see the concentration in their eyes, hear their calm and painstaking breathing and feel their fervent beating hearts fails to understand our new era. Creation is the most beautiful in the world. The sculptor concentrates on carving; the poet sings with his heart; the four modernization builder creates new history, new era and a new world with his entire body and soul. Naturally, like all creators, the builder must use his wisdom as well as his strength. If one prattles about the ideal of the four modernizations, while failing to see those toiling conscientiously to build the new world, one will not be able to make contributions to the four modernization construction. The contributions of literature are to serve the hundreds of millions of creators. They are the objectives of our creation as well as our service. Naturally, creating a new world is not an easy matter. On the road of the long march, people must open path and advance simultaneously. I feel that literature must produce the effect of promoting history in two aspects: Extolling the new things, the advanced models and the positive and progressive forces in life; attacking the old things and eliminating the various kinds of desperate resistance and disruptions. However, regardless of which aspect, our literature and art must stimulate morale, fully develop the intelligence and wisdom of man and build people's confidence in victory. Without conviction, there can be no victory.

A group of new people is building the four modernizations; the four modernization construction is creating a group of new people. Their spiritual world, ethics and qualities, thinking and feelings, joys and sorrows all require the deep explorations of the writers and artists. Thus, the writers and artists must enter the rich and colorful and ever changing real life. We must consider it an honor. In our lifetime, at the start of a new milepost, we have a clearly defined responsibility: Go into the people! Our achievements today are the



result of the line formulated by the party's Third Plenary Session. To be truly loyal to the line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, our writers and artists must first shift their emphasis to the midst of the pioneering people in the process of building the four modernizations. Whoever failing to make the shift has failed to truly emancipate his mind, understand the new era and new reality and dedicate himself to the new realm of life. Cherishing the outmoded and preserving the obsolete, closing the door and keeping to oneself are only manifestations of ossification and semi-ossification. A dialectic materialist will, after all, consciously realize that life is the source of creation. The view that one's own life is sufficient for a lifetime of writing will only lead us away from the advancing reality, because life is not static, but developing. For the writers and artists, without fresh life, it will be similar to being without fresh air, and life will wither away. Their works will only be like apples long left on the shelf, without the luster of life. We must create, not fabricate. Bourgeois artist (Rodin) said in his late years: "I obey 'Nature.'" So, how can our socialist writers and artists sever themselves from reality? Apart from real life, there can be no thinking in terms of images. Naturally, we must not stop at the surface of life. Only by penetrating the inner truth, i.e., the inner world of man, the spiritual realm, will one truly master man, and only then will the words, lines, movements and notes of the writers and artists truly express the people of the new generation, the people maturing in the struggles between beauty and ugliness, good and bad, light and dark. Such people have ideals, worries, excitements, silences, joys and sorrows, but the most important thing is that they, with their life and blood, strength and wisdom, are toiling bit by bit for the building of the four modernizations and advancing heroic y. Only thus will there be beauty and poetry, artistic strength touching man's soul, the zeal for the new society, the enthusiasm and effort for the four modernizations. Only such literature and art will mold the soul of a generation of new people; only such literature will embody the characteristics of the new era, serve as the treasury of mankind and add a bright and dazzling new page to history.

After repeated summations of the lessons of victories and failures, the great era of socialist construction pursued by us for many years has finally arrived. In the reality of our struggle to create material wealth, we will certainly also create spiritual wealth. From the material to the spiritual, from the spiritual to the material, it is the function of our literature and art in the new era. Let the workers on our literary and artistic front unite as one, advance hand in hand and make our contributions to the four modernization construction!

[Article by Luo Chengxun [5012 2110 8133], assistant editor-in-chief of the Hong Kong DAGONG BAO and editor-in-chief of XINWAN BAO [NEW EVENING NEWS]: "Doubtlessly Spring Has Finally Arrived"]

Is it "release" or "restraint?" Since the conclusion of the Fourth Congress of Literary and Art Circles last November, the question has been in the minds of our friends in Hong Kong and abroad. All are concerned over the country

and over literature and art, and happy over the democratic atmosphere and springtime panorama manifested by the congress. However, there are also some who do not feel confident, wondering whether spring has truly arrived and, if so, whether it will last.

Subsequently, it was learned that there were a playwriting forum, a national cultural bureau chiefs' meeting, a national conference of editorial workers of literary periodicals and discussions on the interpretations of the "double-hundred" policy; it was also learned that controversial plays such as "the Swindler" would not be performed again.... One feels that at times it is "restraint" and at other times it is "release." Back and forth and back and forth, one is now worried and now happy.

After attending the Congress of Literary and Art Circles, I personally felt rather confident, though also somewhat anxious. Attending the Political Consultative Conference in Beijing this time, I came with the idea of finding out just how it was, and what I personally saw and heard made me feel that I could maintain my confidence. Take the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference for instance: Compared with the past, they were unprecedented. People could express themselves more freely and the democratic atmosphere was very pervasive. When there is democracy in politics, naturally democracy in literature and art is guaranteed.

It occurs to me how, in the Taiwan aspect, some people vociferously advocated "learning economics from Taipei" and "learning politics from Taipei." Recently someone proposed "learning literature and art from Taipei." Let us leave economics aside and talk about politics. How can Taipei's "Legislative Yuan" and "Yuan" and its "State Construction Study Conference" attended by overseas scholars upon invitation compare with our National People's Congress and Political Consultative Conference in democratic spirit? Naming names and airing views without reservation, criticizing certain vice premiers (not just one) of the State Council and addressing solemn inquiries to certain ministers (not just one) are things which cannot happen in Taipei. Democracy in politics will naturally assure democracy in literature and art.

As for "learning literature and art from Taipei," those proposing this slogan feel that the literary and artistic achievements of the mainland have failed to keep pace with Taiwan and that Taiwan has made achievements in literature and art while the mainland has not accomplished much. I feel that this is a prejudice which is not convincing. Take just novels alone for instance: Back and forth, they dwell mostly on Bai Xianrong [4101 0341 0516] and Chen Ruoxi [7115 5387 2569], one writing about the "Taipei people" and the other about the "Cultural Revolution." In regard to Chen Ruoxi, once our writers liberate themselves and emancipate their mind, their works exposing the 10 years of calamity, known as "scar literature," will be more profound than her writing. As for the literary and artistic achievements in the past 30 years, whether literature or art, as long as one is free of prejudice, one will understand that momentous achievements have been made on this side of the straits. Naturally, we are not indifferent to the effort and achievements of the Taiwan

writers. The publication of their novels, poetry and songs, and essay collections in Beijing volume after volume is the proof. (Some people feel that the selection of novels is fairly comprehensive, but that of poetry and songs and essays is rather one-sided). I feel that we should not overlook the talented and accomplished novelists, poets and essayists. Their works naturally contain things which can serve as our reference. But generally speaking, no matter what, one cannot draw the conclusion that Taiwan's literary and artistic achievements in the past 30 years excel those of the mainland. Some outstanding individuals cannot change the overall situation. Therefore, I would like to repeat my view expressed at the Writers Association meeting during the Congress of Literary and Art Circles, and hope that our mainland writers will produce more and better new works to prove that we have made achievements, are continuing to do so and will accomplish much.

(Written after the statement at the reception of the China Literature and Art Association on 12 September).

[Article by Wang Chaowen (3769 2600 5113): "Do Not Just Manage To Get Through the Days"]

The "eight-character policy" for economic construction stressed by Comrade Hua Guofeng is applicable to culture as well. I feel that his demand to devote our effort to "gradually improve the people's material and cultural life" is pertinent to literary and artistic work.

In our literary and artistic work, are there such "serious defects" as "actually encouraging waste rather than thrift, slipshod work rather than quality improvement, and laziness rather than diligence," etc.? I feel that they also exist in our literary and artistic leadership, creation, criticism and research. The emergence of works such as "the Flower Announcing Spring," "Flower Rain on the Silk Route," "Arriving at Middle Age," "Mayor Chen Yi," etc. has proved that many comrades are devoting their effort to improving the quality of artistic creation and have made encouraging achievements. However, works of such high caliber are inadequate in number and rather slow in coming.

The key is the leadership. Some cultural, literary and artistic leaders also discuss "democracy in art" and "leading art according to the laws of art," but actually do they act according to the demand of "opening all avenues for people of talent; making the best use of men?" Are they striving to understand the laws of art in their leadership work? There are also other problems. The broad rural villages, for instance, urgently need popular literature and art which are sound and acceptable to the masses, yet the artists who are willing and qualified to perform for the masses do not have the opportunity to do so. Is this "economy" or "waste" of talents? In the creation of literature and art, are there contradictions between production and consumption? In regard to the long existing contradictions, are the leaders doing their best for their solution, or do they refuse to acknowledge their existence? How can such leaders guide us properly in our cultural construction? How can they guide us to build

a highly civilized motherland? Some leading comrades constantly express their humility: "Ah, I am an amateur!" Humility is a virtue, yet, how do they justify their amateur status after 4 years, after 30 years? Could they not have made some effort to turn themselves into experts or acquire some expertise? If they are satisfied with tolling the bell as long as one is a monk, doing the minimum possible, or even too lazy to toll the bell, is it not the bureaucratism criticized by the comrades of the Party Central Committee and this congress? As they are amateurs, they are often baffled by the problems posed to them. As they are amateurs, they have difficulty recognizing talents, cultivating talents, and easily take a winged steed as a donkey or a mule. In short, a leader, whether old or young, must no longer share the rice in the large cauldron and manage to get through the days, but must reinforce his feeling of responsibility, making up his own deficiencies wherever necessary, and turn himself into a socialist cultural builder in substance as well as in name.

If the leadership is good, does it mean that there will be no problems? No. If those led fail to make an adequate effort, the quality of art will not improve either. After hearing the words of Comrades Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, I have the feeling that "I am not willing to die even though it is evening." It does not mean that I still have much energy and refuse to give up, but I feel that there are still many things which I have not yet learned. If it is said that "after hearing the principles in the morning, I will die willingly in the evening," there are still many "principles" which I have not yet heard! Time is life. We must, with the spirit of seizing every minute of the day, change the maladjusted conditions in ourselves and our environment. If we remain indifferent over the abnormal conditions unfavorable to our economic and cultural construction, do we have absolutely no fear of the condemnation of future generations?

[Article by Chen Dengke [7115 4098 4430]: "Systems Must Be Reformed; Creation Must Be Freed"]

How to enliven literary and artistic work? Pondering the issue, I find that there are two "must's," i.e., systems must be changed; creation must be freed.

Let us first discuss the reform of systems. The systems of our state were acquired from the Soviet Union in the fifties. In literature and art, even the royalty system was copied from it. Viewed from the practice of the past 30 years, it hampers, rather than promotes, literary and artistic creation. If we lead literature and art today according to the rules and regulations of the fifties, it will be impossible to enliven literary and artistic work, because the system is flooded with the feudal style and repetitious bureaucratic structure. When examining a film, a play, the leaders have different ideas on changes and revisions. Basically, instead of leading literature and art according to the laws of creative work, it is the amateur leading the professional, issuing arbitrary orders according to the preferences, interests, experiences or even prejudices of certain leaders, and the writers and artists are baffled. To reform the system, we must rely on the writers and artists to free themselves



from the old confines and encourage them to smash the shackles. We must learn the way economic work is handled and strive for control without rigidity and liveliness without confusion. To enliven literary and artistic work, we must foster more pathbreakers who have ideals, pursuits and determination and are courageous in looking squarely at reality, facing the truth, reflecting the aspirations, feelings and desires of the people without reservation and thoroughly reforming the old systems in the practice of literary and artistic creation.

How should the old systems be reformed? I think of four points: 1. The life tenure of literary and artistic leadership cadres should be abolished and the leaders of all levels in literary and artistic work should be freely elected by the writers and artists. 2. The feudal leadership structure of the literary and artistic leading organs, including the various literary and artistic associations, must be changed. 3. The inspection system of literary and artistic works should be abolished. In other word, the feudal patriarchy and the practice of one man's word should be changed. 4. The free association of writers, artists and literary and artistic workers who are basically identical in their artistic viewpoints, interests and pursuits should be encouraged, and the free competition in literary and artistic creation of all kinds of styles, schools of thought and mass organizations should be promoted.

Let us now discuss the freedom of creation. Literary and artistic creation involves complex individual mental labor, which cannot tolerate arbitrariness, high-handedness and blind direction. The party's leadership of literary and artistic work refers only to its propaganda, guidance and influence on the writers and artists in its literary and artistic policies and theories; it absolutely does not indicate that the party committees have the right to order the writers and artists on what to write and how to write. A writer is not the secretary of the party committee, and cannot follow orders on what to write and how to write. As a writer can only write about what he sees and hears, what he feels deeply and what he believes in, it is impossible to order him to describe something of which he has no knowledge or feeling. If this is not blind direction and arbitrary interference, what else is it? During the National Conference of Editorial Workers of Literary Periodicals, we saw two films, viz., "the Dazzling Starlight Tonight" and "an Instant," which were both banned at that time. It appeared that "the Dazzling Starlight Tonight" was revised, and was permitted to be shown after cutting several scenes. When the showing of a film hinged on a few scenes, people could not help asking: Does it mean that the life of a film is determined by only a few scenes, let alone the fact that the scenes in question basically do not involve issues of principle? When they were not issues of principle, why must they be deleted? Some people arbitrarily said that too many people died. It was not good for too few people to die, and it was not good for too many people to die. Then, just how many would be good? It was truly baffling. "An Instant" is the first film directly exposing Lin Biao's small fleet counterrevolutionary plot. Reportedly it was banned after an airforce club wrote a letter. China has one billion people, and how many can a club represent? Just who gave it such great power to destroy rashly the diligent toil of so many artists and the 800,000-yuan investment of the state? Just who should pay for such a tremendous loss? Yet, even

today, relying on their high position and great power, certain individuals constantly borrow the "revolutionary" banner, raise the sticks of "liberalism" and "smearing the troops" and hit indiscriminately and interfere arbitrarily in literary and artistic work. They fail to understand the equality of all before a work of art and the absence of distinction between the superior and the subordinate, between the leader and the led in the court of art. For a long time, they have no respect for the mental labor of the writers and artists and are accustomed to showing conceit, issuing haphazard orders and interfering arbitrarily in literary and artistic work. I feel that this is the reason for the failure of literary and artistic creation to flourish fully even today.

Though the condition in the field of literature and art in the past 3 plus years has changed greatly and a lively and vivid new situation, which did not exist not only in the time of the "gang of four," but also in the 17 years, has appeared, the writers and artists are at times still apprehensive and concerned. The peasants say: You discuss policies when the situation is bad, change policies when it is good and criticize policies when a movement arrives. Same as the peasants, our writers and artists are also afraid of the three items. When the situation deteriorated, when finally only eight sample plays were left from the "gang of four's" rampage and when culture was on the verge of destruction, the "double-hundred" policy, ideological emancipation and "freedom," after smashing the "gang of four," were discussed. After a while, when the situation improved and everyone wrote more freely, and some vitality appeared in the literary world, a cold wind began to blow, saying that such freedom was disastrous; that it was bourgeois liberalism and must be controlled; that the policy must be changed! Today, everyone is still worried, not knowing when another movement will be launched, and our writers and artists will again be the first to bear the brunt and suffer criticism. Why is there still such worry? It is because the law still has not clearly provided the protection of the rights of the writers and artists. Therefore, the phenomenon of arbitrary interference in literary and artistic creation still exists in a serious manner. Can one say that instances such as the Bohai No 2 case in the field of literature and art resulting from confused orders are few in number? Who is investigating the political and economic responsibilities? I feel that the Writers' Rights Protection Committee of the Writers' Association should earnestly perform its functions.

In short, I feel that, to truly carry out Comrade Deng Xiaoping's statement against "arbitrary interference" and enliven literary and artistic work, legislation is required, and concrete laws must be enacted to eradicate feudal patriarchy in literary and artistic leadership and earnestly protect the creative freedom of the writers and artists.

[Article by Xie Tieli [6200 6993 7537]: "Keep the People in Mind"]

The 10-year long-range plan for national construction makes me feel that our film industry must also formulate a long-range plan as soon as possible. It

should include the unified planning and arrangement of the production, distribution and showing of films, the film industry and the training of specialized personnel.

Comrade Hua Guofeng said: "The fundamental goal of our pursuit of the modernization construction is to satisfy the people's needs in their material and cultural life." If we measure the present situation of our film enterprise with these words, I find that we give too much consideration to the cities and too little to the 800 million peasants, too much to the ticket office and too little to the influence on the young and young adults (the basic audience in the cities). Take innovation for instance: Is it innovation for the sake of innovation, or is it innovation for the needs of the cultural life of the broad masses? If we do not ponder and solve the problems in terms of this fundamental goal, I feel that we will easily deviate in our direction.

When "the Dazzling Starlight Tonight" was filmed, some people asked: "You still make this film today? Will there be people who want to see it?" After it was shown, the questions were answered in the many letters from the viewers. One young worker wrote that, after seeing the film, he yielded his quota to someone else at wage evaluation. Another youth wrote that he and other young people imitated, by their practical acts, the leading characters in the film. It has further convinced me that the characters portrayed in the film are acceptable to the young people. I feel that, as the young people of this generation will, 20 years later, take over the shift and determine the future of the state, if we can produce some positive influence on their growth, it will indicate that our work is meaningful. With such a sense of responsibility, my next creative planning is to make films on modern subject matters. Naturally, it does not mean that I do not support the breadth of subject matters and the great variety of styles in films.

One very important problem in film creation which requires solution is respect for the writers' labor and protection of their creative spirit.

The "100 flowers blooming" policy in film making should be like the chefs who each displays his own unique skill and creates his own specialty to satisfy the different tastes of the diners. However, for a long time in the past, the practice was to boil a large pot of food for the 1 billion people. Now it has been improved, and the situation has somewhat changed. Naturally, while any dish may be served, there must be a premise: The chef must consider sanitation and avoid food poisoning of the diners. Today when film creation is gradually flourishing, we must realize that it is impossible for everyone to be satisfied with a film and to have no complaint. On the contrary, when a film pleases the majority of the audience, it is possible for it to offend a part of them. This is a normalcy. Different opinions in artistic appreciation may coexist and may be discussed and debated, and it is not necessary to seek arbitrary uniformity. As long as no fundamental mistake in political principles is found in a film, even if one does not like it, one must not oppose others for liking it or decide on the fate of the film according to one's own preferences by administrative means and coercive measures. Inspection and ensuring soundness are necessary, but will it not be better to place the main responsibility

on the film production plants? The current inspection system is not clear and the inspection is often too concrete. A film costs several hundred thousand to 1 million yuan. If, upon its completion, the leaders of the various levels make all kinds of comments on problems which are not fundamental and require numerous revisions, or even suspend its showing, it will result in a great waste. I advocate that, as long as the problems are not momentous and fundamental, whether to revise or not should be left to the writers themselves, and their views should be respected. The different views may be openly discussed in newspapers and periodicals after a film is shown, or they may be brought to the writers' attention for improvement in the future.

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